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# THE TESTAMENTS

OF

# THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

*BY THE SAME AUTHOR*

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# THE TESTAMENTS

OF

# THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

TRANSLATED FROM

THE EDITOR'S GREEK TEXT

AND EDITED, WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES, AND INDICES

BY

R. H. CHARLES, D.Litt., D.D.
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LONDON
ADAM AND CHARLES BLACK
1908

To My Wife

# PREFACE

THE many laborious years of study of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs see at last their close in the present volume. The labour involved has been very great, at times indeed oppressive, but it has not been without its own compensations; for the toil has been frequently lightened by the joys of discovery, and the task of research has been often one of sheer delight. The pleasures of fox-hunting are not to be compared with those of the student in full quest of some truth, some new fact showing itself for the first time within his intellectual horizon. But to return. Many of the problems arising from our text had hitherto been wholly unattempted, or else had been wrongly solved in the past—in large part owing in earlier years to the lack of documentary authorities, and in later years to the large demand on the scholar's time that the mastery of these would have entailed. Short but valuable contributions and suggestions have recently been made by Schnapp, Conybeare, Kohler, Gaster, and Bousset, and not a few of the conclusions arrived at by these scholars have been confirmed by my own investigations.

The main questions as regards the date, original language, and object of the author, are, I am convinced, now practically settled beyond the range of dispute. Other questions arise in the text that call for further study and research. For the prosecution of these the student is fully

provided with all the documentary materials, so far as the Testaments themselves are concerned, in the present volume and in my Text, which is published by the Oxford University Press. For these two volumes all accessible authorities in Greek, Armenian, Hebrew, Aramaic, and Slavonic have been used, and of these a full account is given in the Introductions to these two books.

The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs has, since its rediscovery by Bishop Grosseteste in the thirteenth century till the last decade, been a sealed book, misunderstood and misdated on every hand. The research of the last few years has, however, as I have just indicated, succeeded in discovering its true date, purpose, and character. It now comes forward as a book second in importance to none composed between 200 B.C. and the Christian era. It was written in Hebrew in the last quarter of the second century B.C. by a Chasid on behalf of the high-priesthood of the great Maccabean family, and especially on behalf of the Messianic claims of John Hyrcanus, who, according to Josephus, was the only Israelite who enjoyed the triple offices of prophet, priest, and king. But its claims to historical importance, however great, are overshadowed by its still greater claims as being the sole representative of the loftiest ethical standard ever attained by pre-Christian Judaism, and as such, attesting the existence of a type of religious thought in pre-Christian Judaism that was the natural preparation for the ethics of the New Testament, and especially of the Sermon on the Mount. Not only so, but this book influenced directly the Sermon on the Mount in a few of its most striking thoughts and phrases, and the Pauline Epistles in a great variety of passages.

The reader who wishes to get a summary account of the Testaments, and their influence on the New Testament, should read §§ 1, 26, 27 of the Introduction that follows.

Some of the Sections in this Introduction will of necessity appear in the Introduction to my Text, which will be published immediately by the University Press.

As the present volume constitutes the first commentary on the Testaments, the editor has had often to pursue untravelled ways, and as he has pushed his discoveries now in this direction, now in that, he is conscious that he cannot when so doing have escaped falling into errors of perception, judgment, or scholarship. For such he can with confidence throw himself on the indulgence of his fellow researchers, who know the difficulties of the pioneer and the ease with which he falls a victim even to obvious errors. I have, however, done my best to avoid such errors. In this I should no doubt have been more successful, if my sheets had been revised by other eyes. But I naturally shrank from imposing the overwhelming labour of revising my Text on any of my friends, and even of reading my Translations and Notes. For all corrections I shall be very grateful.

I cannot conclude without thanking the Publishers for their magnanimity in undertaking yet another of these expensive works. I hope that their virtue in this respect may have something outside of and beyond its own reward.

R. H. CHARLES.

*Oct.* 2, 1907,
24 Bardwell Road, Oxford.

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# INTRODUCTION

## § 1. The Book and its Fortunes

The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs were written in Hebrew in the later years of John Hyrcanus—in all probability after his final victory over the Syrian power and before his breach with the Pharisees—in other words, between 109 and 106. Their author was a Pharisee who combined loyalty to the best traditions of his party with the most unbounded admiration of Hyrcanus. The Maccabean dynasty had now reached the zenith of its prosperity, and in its reigning representative, who alone in the history of Judaism possessed the triple offices of prophet, priest, and king, the Pharisaic party had come to recognise the actual Messiah.

Won over by the purity of life, nobility of character, and pre-eminent gifts of the Maccabees as high priests, civil rulers, and military commanders, the Chasids, or early Pharisees, had some decades earlier attached themselves to this new high-priesthood, though with many a misgiving on account of the break in the high-priestly succession.

The approval thus won from the reluctant Chasids, the Maccabees had deepened and strengthened by their achievements every year in every province of their activity, till the thought was begotten in many a breast, that at last the

hope of Israel had come, and, in defiance of all ancient prophecy, was sprung from the house and lineage of Levi.[1]

There are good grounds for regarding Psalm cx. as the outcome of such an expectation, and as greeting one of the Maccabees as the long-expected deliverer of Israel.[2] But, however this may be, there is no doubt that our author addresses two or more Messianic hymns to John Hyrcanus, in whom had culminated all the glories and gifts of this great family. The writer already sees the Messianic kingdom established, under the sway of which the Gentiles will in due course be saved,[3] Beliar overthrown, sin disappear from the earth, and the righteous dead rise to share in the blessedness of the living.

Alas for the vanity of man's judgment and man's prescience. Our book had hardly been published, when Hyrcanus, owing to an outrage done him by the Pharisees, broke with their party, and, joining the Sadducees, died a year or two later. His successors proved themselves the basest of men. Their infamy is painted in lurid colours by contemporary writers of the first century B.C., and by a strange irony the work,[4] or, rather, fragments of the work of one of these assailants of the later Maccabees, has achieved immortality by finding a covert in the chief

[1] But the Testaments were not only used for private edification. They were used, as Kohler (*J.Q.R.*, 1893, pp. 400-401) has indicated, on certain occasions in the High Court of Justice on the trial of a woman suspected of adultery. For according to Sifre, Num. 12, Sotah 7$^{b}$, and Jer. Sotah 16$^{d}$, the president of the Court was directed to urge on the accused the duty of confession, and recite to her "words of the Haggada, historical events which occur in the early writings—for example, the incident of Reuben with Bilhah and of Judah with Tamar." The confessions of Reuben and Judah are found in our text, and nowhere else in ancient Jewish literature.

[2] Many exegetes take Ps. cx. as a Messianic hymn addressed to Simon (cf. 1 Macc. xiv. 1).

[3] Contrast the narrowness of the sister work, the Book of Jubilees, the author of which, like Ezekiel, believed in the exclusion of the Gentiles from the Messianic kingdom.

[4] See § 19.

manifesto that was issued on behalf of one of the earlier members of that dynasty.

This second writer singles out three of the Maccabean priest kings for attack, the first of whom he charges with every abomination; the people itself, he declares, is apostate, and chastisement will follow speedily—the temple will be laid waste, the nation carried afresh into captivity, whence, on their repentance, God will restore them again to their own land, where they shall enjoy the blessedness of God's presence and be ruled by a Messiah sprung from Judah.[1]

When we contrast the expectations of the original writer and the actual events that followed, it would seem that the chief value of his work would consist in the light that it throws on this obscure and temporary revolution in the Messianic expectations of Judaism towards the close of the second century. But this is not so. The main, the overwhelming value of the book lies not in this province, but in its ethical teaching, which has achieved a real immortality by influencing the thought and diction of the writers of the New Testament, and even those of our Lord.[2] This ethical teaching, which is indefinitely higher and purer than that of the Old Testament, is yet its true spiritual child, and helps to bridge the chasm that divides the ethics of the Old and New Testaments.

After the first century of our era the fortunes of the Testaments speedily declined in Christendom. Though they are referred to occasionally in the next three centuries, they came to be discredited as an Apocryphal writing and fell under the ban of the Church. Unhappily, further, in the course of these centuries of their waning popularity, they underwent interpolation[3] at the hands of Christian scribes,

[1] Part of this prophecy was fulfilled in 70 A.D.

[2] See §§ 26, 27.

[3] See § 20.

but happily many of these interpolations had not been made when the book was done into Armenian.

The reappearance of the Testaments on the stage of history was due to the great Bishop of Lincoln, Robert Grosseteste, in the thirteenth century, who procured from Greece the MS of this book, which is now in the University Library of Cambridge. This scholar took the book with all its Christian additions to be a genuine writing of the twelve sons of Jacob. He charged the Jews with concealing the Testaments from the knowledge of the Church "on account of the prophecies of the Saviour contained in them." Grosseteste translated the book into Latin, and his translation gained an immediate and widespread popularity, and from it in course of time translations were made into most of the languages of Europe.

It is, perhaps, needless to state that, when the critical instinct revived with the Reformation, Grosseteste's view of the Testaments was summarily rejected. Nay, more, as the book was regarded as the work of one writer, it was simply condemned as a Christian forgery. In the course of four centuries only one voice was raised as against this mistaken verdict, and that in vain for about two hundred years. Only a score of years ago Grabe's view that the Christian clauses were interpolations was rehandled in a treatise by a young German scholar Schnapp. Some years afterwards the subject was restudied by the present writer, who now presents to the reader the product of many laborious but happy years of research.

## § 2. The Greek MSS

*a.* Bodley MS. Barrocio 133. Quarto. This paper MS contains several treatises by different hands of the latter part of the fourteenth century. The Testaments

occupy folios 179[a]-205[b]. Their general title and those of Judah and Gad are written in red. There are two copies of this MS. on paper, one in the Bodley MS. Smith 117, belonging to the close of the seventeenth century, and the second in Emmanuel College, Cambridge. This MS. is remarkable for a large number of omissions, at times of entire chapters. A collation of it is given in Dr. Sinker's edition, but it is wanting in accuracy. It is cited by him as O.

*b.* University Library, Cambridge, Ff. i. 24. Quarto. This parchment MS. contains four works, of which the Testaments are the fourth, written on folios 203[a]-262[b]. It belongs to the tenth century. It is written in double columns, 20 lines in a column. The initials and titles are in red, except the first, which is in gold. It was from this MS. that Grosseteste's Latin version was made. His handwriting, according to Dr. James, is found on the margin. Grabe professes to have given a transcript of this MS. as his text.

Of this MS. there are three copies. The first two are in the University Library and in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, respectively, and the third in the Library of Queen's College, Oxford.

This MS. forms the text of Dr. Sinker's edition. Dr. James has tested its accuracy for me, and found it to be above all praise. I have, therefore, used Dr. Sinker's transcript of the MS in the present edition. It is cited by him as C.

*c.* Vatican Library, Cod. Graec. 731. This is a small octavo MS written on paper, with 22 or 23 lines on each page. Besides the Testaments it contains extracts from the Fathers. The Testaments are given on folios 97[a]-167[b]. The script of the latter belongs probably to the thirteenth century. This is the most important of all the MSS. A

fairly accurate collation of this MS. by Guidi is given by Sinker, in his separately published Appendix to his edition of the Testaments, and cited by him as R. I procured photographs of this MS. for the present edition.

*d.* Vatican Library, Gk. 1238. This is a vellum MS. in three volumes of the LXX belonging to the thirteenth century. On the close of the LXX follows the Testament of Job, folios $340^{a}$-$349^{b}$, and on 350-380 our present text. There are from 33 to 39 lines in each column. Strangely enough, above the general title of the Testaments —Διαθῆκαι τῶν ιβ πατριαρχῶν υἱῶν Ἰακώβ—appear the words Λεπτῆς Γενέσεως, which is one of the titles of the Book of Jubilees. That there was a close relation between these books we know independently. A collation of this MS. was published by Conybeare in the *J.Q.R.*, Oct. 1900 and Jan. 1901, but I thought it advisable to have the MS. photographed for this edition.

*e.* Mount Athos MS. This MS. is written in two columns of 40 lines each in a good hand of the tenth century. The Testaments are given on folios $197^{b}$-$229^{a}$. This MS. is of great interest, as it contains three large additions to the text: the first before καὶ ἐπὶ πύργους in T. Lev. ii. 3, consisting of a prayer of Jacob; the second after the word ἡμερῶν in T. Lev. xviii. 2, and the third after τῆς γῆς in T. Ash. vii. 2. The third consists of $2\frac{2}{3}$ columns of certain Christian disquisitions on love and the Trinity. The second is the remarkable Greek fragment, which I have printed in Appendix III. in my edition of the Text, and which we show elsewhere to be a translation from a Hebrew work, which was probably an original source of the Testaments. Professor Lake photographed this MS. for me on Mount Athos.

*f.* Paris MS. 938. This is a beautifully written MS. of the tenth century. The Testaments are given on the first 72

folios. Each page contains 23 lines. On folio 1[a] there is a list of Old Testament names, including the twelve patriarchs, with their meanings. The Testaments proper begin in 1[b]. It is characteristic of this MS. that after the title of each Testament it adds the meaning of the proper name, and also that, at the conclusion of each Testament, it adds the number of years that the patriarch lived. In the latter feature it is followed by the first Slavonic Recension ($S^1$). After the Testaments follow the Testament of Job and other writings. This MS. was photographed for me with a view to the present edition. Dr. Sinker collated this MS. as far back as 1887, but never published the collation.

*g.* MS. 411 in the Library of the Monastery of St. John the Evangelist in Patmos. It is a quarto MS. written on parchment, and assigned by H. C. Coxe to the sixteenth century. This very inaccurate MS. was collated for Dr. Sinker's Appendix, by whom it is cited as P.

*h.* Mount Sinai MS. No. 547 in the Library of St. Catherine. See Gardthausen, *Cat. Codd. Graec. Sinaiticorum*, p. 132. This MS., 14·5 by 10·35 cm., was written in the seventeenth century. It contains 17 lines on each page. It is incomplete and comes to an end with T. Jos. xv. 7. This MS. has the following peculiar introduction: *Ἰωάννου τοῦ πότε ἑβραίου εἴδησις τῶν διαθηκῶν τῶν ιβ' υἱῶν τοῦ πατριάρχου Ἰακὼβ μεταφρασθεῖσα ἀπὸ Ἰουδαικοῦ διαλέκτου εἰς Ἑλληνικήν.* The statement is true, but where the scribe got it we cannot determine. This MS. was copied for Dr. Sinker by Mrs. Gibson in Feb. 1892. This copy, together with photographs of the T. Jos. i.-xii. 3, xv. 1-7, Dr. Sinker most kindly placed at my disposal.

*i.* Mount Sinai MS. This MS. was discovered accidentally in the Convent Library in the spring of 1906 by Mrs. Gibson. She was searching for *h*, with a view to

more correct collation, on my behalf. Notwithstanding every effort, she, like the Archbishop of Sinai, who had previously sought for it, failed to find it. Just before leaving Mount Sinai, however, she came across this second MS and photographed the greater part of it for me, *i.e.* down to T. Ash. vii. 6, when her camera broke down. Unfortunately the negatives of T. Naph. viii. $2^b$-ix. $2^b$; T. Gad i. 9-iv. 1, v. $3^b$-vi. $2^b$; T. Ash. i. $7^b$-ii. 7, iv. 5-vi. $3^d$, were either lost or proved to be failures. When the photographs of this MS. reached me, the first ninety-six pages of my text had already passed through the press. Accordingly I have added in Appendix VI., in my edition of the Text, a collation of the Testaments of Reuben, Simeon, Levi, and Jud. i.-xx., where it differs from *h*, with which it is closely connected. This MS. was written not earlier than the seventeenth century. It contains 21 to 23 lines on each page. It has the same peculiar introduction as *h*. See preceding MS.

## § 3. The Armenian MSS.

There are many MSS. of this version. The first five are designated by the symbols attached to them in the Venetian edition of the text by the Mechitarist fathers. The rest owe their designation to the present editor. When cited they appear as $A^a$, $A^b$, etc.

$A^a$. Mechitarist Library of St. Lazzaro, Venice, No. 345. This MS., 5 by 7 inches, was written in the year 1220 on paper. This MS. contains also the History of the Prophet Jeremiah. It belongs to the first recension of the text.

$A^{b*}$. Mechitarist Library of St. Lazzaro, No. 280. This MS., $7\frac{1}{2}$ by 11 inches, was written in two columns of 42 lines each on paper in the year 1418. This MS. is the

worst representative of the second recension of the Armenian version. It contains also the History of Asenath.

$A^b$. Mechitarist Library of St. Lazzaro, No. 679. This MS., 6 by 10 inches, was written towards the end of the fifteenth century, in double columns of 26 lines each, and consists of 679 folios. This MS. belongs to the first recension. Its collation in the Armenian text is not infrequently incorrect and defective, as I have discovered through Father Carékin's copy of six of the Testaments in this MS., which he made for Mr. Conybeare, and which the latter most kindly placed at my disposal. I have introduced the needful corrections into the text on the basis of Carékin's collation.

$A^c$. Mechitarist Library of St. Lazzaro, No. 229. This MS. Bible, 8 by 10 inches, was written on vellum in double columns of 50 lines each in the year 1655.

$A^d$. Mechitarist Library of St. Lazzaro, No. 1366. This MS. Bible was written in the sixteenth century on paper, in double columns of 43 lines each.

$A^e$. This MS. Bible was written in the sixteenth century and belongs to the London Bible Society. It is designated as B by Conybeare, whose collation I have used.

$A^f$. This MS. Bible, which belongs to the Catholicos of the Armenian Church at Edschmiadzin in Armenia, was there photographed by Conybeare in 1891. The MS. is written in two columns of 50 lines each in a beautiful hand. Unfortunately the negatives reproduced the pages of the Edschmiadzin MS. on so minute a scale, that it was impossible to print them. Moreover, a few of the columns were out of focus. Notwithstanding, the present editor has been able to decipher five-sixths of the text by holding the negatives between himself and the sunlight and studying the negatives letter by letter and word by word. This MS is closely related to $A^{cd'ef}$, and has been of great service

where the collations of these MSS. were slightly inaccurate or defective.

$A^g$. This MS. Bible, which was written in the seventeenth century, belongs to Lord Zouche. I owe all my citations of its text to Conybeare's collation.

$A^h$. Bodleian Library, Oxford, No. *e.* 30 (13th cent.) Only five Testaments are found in this MS., and in the following order: Simeon (folio $168^a$), Levi ($173^a$), Joseph ($183^b$), Benjamin ($195^b$), Judah ($202^a$). The MS. is written in two or more hands (latest 18th cent.), and there are two types of text. Fortunately the four first-mentioned Testaments and T. Judah i.-xiv. $8^{abc}$ (*i.e.* ἐὰν . . . αἰσχρορημονεῖν) belong to the first recension, and only T. Jud. xiv. $8^{de}$-xxvi. to the second. This MS. thus attests the same type of text as $A^{ab}$, but it is more closely related to $A^a$ than to $A^b$.

All the preceding MSS. have been used by the present editor. There are three others, of two of which he has no knowledge.

$A^i$. A Vatican MS. of the Bible cited once by Conybeare. See *J.Q.R.* viii. (1896), p. 260. It belongs to the seventeenth century.

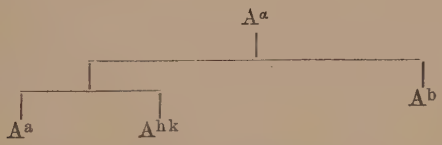
$A^k$. Mechitarist Library, Venice, No. 126 (Dashian's *Catalog der armenischen Handschriften der Mechitaristen Bibliothek zu Wein*, 1895, p. 71, 411 *sqq.*). This MS. was written in the year 1388. On the first $105^a$ folios it contains the History of Joseph and Asenath. Then follow the Testaments. Of these, Reuben, Dan, and Naphtali are missing. The order of the remaining nine is peculiar, agreeing in the first five with that of $A^h$. Thus we have Simeon, Levi, Joseph, Benjamin, Judah, Issachar, Zebulun, Gad, Asher. A study of the titles of these Testaments given in Sinker's Appendix, p. 25, and the German translation of the T. Jud. xxiv.-xxvi., and T. Benj. x. $8^b$-xii., by

Dr. Paul Hunanian, makes it at once clear that $A^k$ belongs to the first Armenian recension, and, furthermore, that $A^k$ is more nearly related to $A^{ah}$ than to $A^b$, and to $A^h$ than to $A^a$.[1]

($A^l$) The Hof-Bibliothek, Vienna, No. 11 (Dashian's *Catalog der armenischen HSS*, p. 19, 1891).

## § 4. The Armenian Version found in two Recensions; their Mutual Relations; their Affinities with the Greek MSS.; Value of the Version.

*The Two Recensions.*—As we have already observed in the preceding section, there are two recensions of this text, which are represented in this edition as $A^\alpha$ and $A^\beta$. $A^\alpha$, which is found in non-Biblical MSS., includes four MSS., $A^{abhk}$, of which the last $A^k$ is known to the editor only through the translation of some chapters by Dr. Paul Hunanian in Sinker's Appendix, p. 25 *sqq*. The relations of these four MSS. to each other can be represented as follows:—

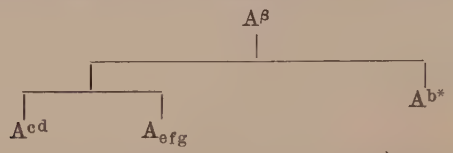



$A^b$ is a good MS. in many respects, and occasionally alone preserves the true text, but it is disfigured by many additions of words and phrases.

$A^\beta$, which is found always (?) in Biblical MSS., includes in this edition $A^{b*cdefg}$. Of these, $A^{b*}$ stands aloof from the rest. Its idiosyncrasies are innumerable, but in a few rare

[1] Thus the titles of the Testaments of Simeon, Levi, Joseph, and Benjamin in $A^k$ agree with those in $A^{abh}$, but that of Judah in $A^k$ agrees only with that in $A^h$. $A^k$ like $A^{ah}$ rejects the additions of $A^b$ in the T. Jud. xxiv. 2, 5, 6; xxv. 3. It agrees with $A^h$ in T. Jud. xxiv. 5, xxvi. 1, against $A^{ab}$, but with $A^{ab}$ against $A^{h\beta}$ in xxv. 4.

cases, where it differs from $A^{cdefg}$, it has the support of the best Greek MSS. Cf. T. Gad v. 3; T. Benj. xii. 1. Unfortunately it was adopted by the Mechitarist editor of the Armenian text as his chief authority. The relations of these six MSS. might be represented as follows:—




*Relations of the two Recensions.*—The variations between $A^{\alpha}$ and $A^{\beta}$ are very great, but the bulk of them appear to have arisen within the version. Very many of them are simply due to the confusion of like words with each other. Instances of this nature are pointed out on nearly every page of my Text. Other differences apparently arose from an attempt of the scribe of $A^{\alpha}$ to abbreviate the text as it is found in $A^{\beta}$.[1] But over and above, these there are certain important sections where the differences between the two recensions goes back to the Greek, such as in T. Levi ii. 7-10, xiv. 1, 3-5, where $A^{\alpha}$ agrees with $\alpha$ against $\beta$, and one notable section, T. Lev. iii. 1-5, where $A^{\alpha}$ is less corrupt than $\alpha$, and gives the nearest reproduction of the original Hebrew archetype.

*Affinities of A with the Greek MSS.*—Exclusive of such passages as the above, A, taken as a whole, agrees with $\beta$S against $\alpha$. This agreement holds in an innumerable number of passages, and frequently on a large scale, as in T. Lev. v. $1^{b}$; T. Jud. v. 6, 7, vii. 2-3, 9, x. 5, xviii. 1, xx. 2-4; xxvi. 3; T. Iss. i. 11, vii. 9; T. Zeb. iv. 1-6, ix. 7; T. Dan. i. 9; T. Naph. i. 12; T. Gad ii. 3-5, vi. 3; T. Asher ii. 3, vi. 6; T. Jos. viii. 5, xvi. 2-3; T. Benj. vii. 4, viii. 2, xii. In one considerable passage,

[1] Thus in the T. Judah the text of $A^{\alpha}$ is less by a third than that of $A^{\beta}$, but this is an extreme case.

owing to hmt, *i.e.* in T. Benj. iv. 5 A agrees with *a* against *β*, and likewise in a number of phrases mostly unimportant, where the agreement may be accidental, or where A may have preserved the original reading, though lost in *β*. But within *β* there are two types of text to which *a e f* and *b d g* belong respectively, and A agrees all but universally with *b d g* when *b d g* differ from *a e f*. In one passage, T. Zeb. viii. 6, A agrees with *a e f* (*ὕπαρξιν*) against *a* (*πρόσωπον*). Here *b g* differ from all the MSS. and versions, and *d* gives a text conflated from *b g* and *a e f*.

*Value of A.* The value of A will be best understood when we come to deal with the Christian interpolations in the text. These are by no means absent from A, but they are present in a much less degree in A than in *a* and *β*. This is especially so in the last two Testaments. But not only is A notable for its comparative freedom from interpolation. A has alone transmitted the purest form of text in T. Lev. iii. 1-5; and A alone has preserved the text, when it has been wholly lost by *a β*, in T. Jos. xix. 3-7; T. Benj. ii. 6-8.

But, however valuable A is, we must not fail to observe that on almost every page it is guilty of unjustifiable omissions. These omissions are made obvious to the reader by the use of brackets. All words enclosed thus ⌜ ⌝ are omitted by A.

Furthermore, the text of A is often corrupt. At times the meaning can only be guessed at. In my retranslations of A into Greek and English I have reproduced the irregularities of this version.

## § 5. Edition of the Armenian Text

Only one edition of the text has as yet appeared. This is given on pp. 27-151 of the *Treasury of Old and New Fathers:* I., *Non-Canonical Writings of the Old Testament,* Venice, 1896, by H. Sargis Josepheanz. This edition consists of a reproduction of $A^{b*}$ with variants in the notes from $A^{abcd}$. The editor could not unfortunately have chosen a worse MS. for his text. Fortunately, however, in the case of the Testaments of Simeon and Levi, where $A^{\alpha}$ and $A^{\beta}$ differ very greatly, he has given, by the advice of Mr. Conybeare, $A^{ab}$ on the left-hand pages and $A^{b*cd}$ on the pages facing them.

My study of this text has led me to form a low opinion of its accuracy. The editor is frequently careless as to the order of the text, and thus represents a divergence between A and $\alpha\beta$ when there is none in the MSS. He is indefinite in his statements in the notes. Thus not infrequently he says, "one line is missing" and gives the reader no help in determining its length. Happily, by the aid of $A^{bhefg}$ I have been able to ascertain his meaning. The title of T. Jos. is wrongly given for $A^{ab}$. Again, $A^{b}$ is not infrequently wrongly cited, as the copy of this MS. by Father Carékin shows. I cannot help drawing the same inference with regard to $A^{cd}$, and with regard to $A^{a}$ from my study of $A^{h}$, these two MSS. being made from the same archetype.

Notwithstanding, this scholar has rendered a great service to the students of the Testaments, and materially lightened the labours of his successors. But it is to be hoped that either he or some other Armenian scholar will undertake a critical edition of this much-needed work, in which $A^{b*}$ will be banished from the text and not always cited in the notes. In the meantime the students of this

literature must content themselves with the knowledge of A that is given in my notes. I have in my notes either silently or expressly corrected Josepheanz's text when needful, and so far as I am aware I have not omitted a single important variant in either $A^{\alpha}$ or $A^{\beta}$.

## § 6. Translations of the Armenian Version

Paul Hunanian. A German translation has been made by this scholar of T. Jud. xxiv.-xxvi. and of T. Benj. x. 8-xii. from the Armenian MS. $A^{k}$, and is given in Sinker's Appendix, pp. 26-27.

Conybeare. The chief help towards our knowledge of the Armenian Version has been rendered by this scholar in his contributions to the *J.Q.R.* "On the Jewish Authorship of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs," 1893, v. 375-398. "A Collation of Sinker's Texts of the Testaments of Reuben and Simeon with the old Armenian Version," 1896, vol. viii. 260-268; "A Collation of Armenian Texts of the Testaments of Judah, Dan, Joseph, Benjamin" (viii. 471-485),—in these articles Conybeare has retranslated into Greek or Latin the chief variants in the three MSS. $A^{beg}$.

Preuschen. "Die Armenische Uebersetzung der Testamente der Zwölf Patriarchen" in the *Zeitschrift für NTliche Wissenschaft*, 1900, i. 106-140. This article gives almost a complete list of the Armenian MSS. and a translation into German of the T. Levi. The translator makes many good suggestions, and attempts in some of the corrupt passages a reconstruction of the text. He has rightly shown that the editor of the Armenian text was wrong in making $A^{b*}$ the basis of his text.

Issaverdens, *The Uncanonical Writings of the Old Testament*, pp. 349-479, Venice, 1901. Dr. Issaverdens

has here attempted to translate the Testaments into English, but the task was wholly beyond him. It is not that his English was defective, but that his entire training was not apparently fitted to prepare him for such an undertaking. He ought to have followed closely the printed Armenian text, and, when this text exhibited two very different recensions, have rendered each independently. As it is, he ostensibly follows the longer recension, but frequently adopts a reading from the shorter without informing his reader. No hint is given that at times ten, twenty, or thirty words, or even a whole page, is wanting in the shorter recension. Sometimes he gives as a rendering of the Armenian text the rendering of the Greek text of Sinker, where the Armenian is at variance with the Greek. Occasionally he adds a clause from the Greek which is missing in the Armenian, without even a hint to that effect. Finally, his renderings are frequently inaccurate. In short, the translation, while of interest to the general reader, is absolutely worthless to the scholar.

## § 7. The Slavonic Version

This version is late. It is based on the type of text represented by *a e f*, and of these it attaches most closely to *f*; for $S^1$ always, and occasionally $S^2$, agree in making the addition at the close of each Testament that is to be found in *f* alone of the Greek MSS. But S has affinities also with other MSS than *a e f*: thus, in T. Lev. ix. 1 it agrees with *a* in reading προπάτορα ἡμῶν, which βA omit; in T. Gad i. 4 *a* $S^1$ read ὑπάρχων νέος, where βA have τρυφερὸς ὤν, and in T. Lev. xii. 1 ἐξ αὐτῆς, where βA read αὐτῷ; in T. Benj. iv. 3, *c* $S^1$ read Θεοῦ, where β has ἀγαθοῦ, and in T. Lev. ix. 11, *a d* $A^a S^1$ agree in omitting six words through homoioteleuton. Such instances, though

they are not numerous, are sufficient to prove that the Greek MS., from which S was translated, had sporadically come under the influence of *a*.

## § 8. The two Slavonic Recensions

The two Slavonic recensions of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs are primarily taken from the so-called Palea (Greek παλαιά) which contain short accounts of events mentioned in the Old Testament with the addition of traditional stories and comments of the Fathers of the Church. These Palea sometimes appear in separate collections, and are sometimes prefixed to the translations of Byzantine Chronicles. Of the two recensions the short one has undergone many changes from the original. The editor of the Palea has shortened the Testaments as they already existed in a complete Slavonic translation, and following a polemical course against the Jews, he has here and there introduced references to them. Besides the alterations mentioned, the editor of the Palea has changed the order of the Testaments, having placed the Testament of Joseph before all the others, and having connected it with the death of Jacob. The Russian editor has not followed this peculiarity, and some variations have been introduced from a Palea on vellum of 1406, written at Kolumna. The shorter edition of the Testaments is contained in a vellum MS. of the fourteenth century preserved in the Monastery of St. Alexander Moski. The complete recension is from a Palea of the year 1477 preserved in the Synodal Library at Moscow, No. 210, pp. 146-189.

Some variations from the complete redaction of the Testaments have been introduced from an uncial manuscript in a Miscellany of fifteenth to sixteenth centuries, belonging

to the chief Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at Moscow, and including among other things a part of the chronographer John Malalas.

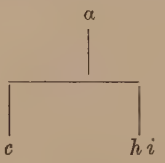
Tichonravov's work in which the above recensions are given is entitled *Pamjatniki otrechennoi Russkoi Literaturi* (2 vols., St. Petersburg, 1863).

W. R. Morfill.

## § 9. The Greek Version found in two Forms, *α* and *β*. Their Relations and the Characteristics of their Representatives.

The Greek version is found in two forms, which are denoted by *α* and *β* in this edition. I do not call them recensions, for I hope later to prove that these forms go back to the Hebrew.

*α and its characteristics.*—*α* is represented by three MSS., *c h i*. The relations of *c h i* to each other may be represented as follows:—




*h i* are derived from one and the same parent,[1] but are late MSS. and show some signs of a mixed ancestry. These MSS. diverge occasionally from *c*: thus they support $\beta A^{\beta} S^{1}$ against *c* in T. Lev. iii. 8; $\beta S^{1}$ against *c* A in T. Sim. i. 10; $\beta$ (A) $S^{1}$ against *c* in T. Sim. vii. 1; $\beta$ A $S^{1}$ in T. Lev. vi. 3 against *c*; $\beta$ S in T. Zeb. ix. 5 against *c* A. *h i* are conflate in a few instances, and show the influence of *β*. Cf. T. Sim. i. 10; T. Jos. x. 6.

[1] *h* is not derived from *i*, nor *vice versa*. Each shows independent variations and omissions. See Appendix VI. of my Text.

*a* is rather disfigured by omissions such as T. Reub. ii. $3^{b}$-$4^{a}$; T. Lev. ix. $2^{b}$, $11^{b}$, $14^{b}$, xii. 5-7, xiii. 2; T. Jud. iii. 4 (through hmt.), vi. 1-2, xii. 6-10, xxi. $7^{d}$; T. Naph. viii. $4^{f}$, $6^{c}$. Though freer than *β* from Christian interpolations, yet *a* too shows some signs of the Christian scribe's activity in this direction.[1] But we shall return to this subject in a later section.

One notable depravation of the text occurs in T. Judah xii. 6-10, where *a* has omitted the text of the Testament and substituted in its stead an abbreviated form of LXX of Gen. xxxviii. 20, 24-30.

*β and its characteristics.*—*β* is represented by six MSS., *a b d e f g*. These MSS. are not so closely related to each other as *c h i*, but represent two diverging types of text. Of these, *a e f* show many affinities with *a*, and *b d g* with A. As we have shown elsewhere (see § 7), S is derived from *a e f*. It is noteworthy that *a e f* exhibit one uniform type of text agreeing on the whole very closely with each other, whereas *b d g*, though undoubtedly exhibiting a certain type of text, differ very largely from each other. Thus *g* is remarkable for its large omissions, *d* for its large additions and conflations, and *b* for its frequent small changes of text. Furthermore, *b d g* are remarkable also for large additions to the text in T. Zeb. Thus vi. 4-6, vii.-viii. 3, ix. $8^{cd}$ are found alone in *b d g*.

We shall begin with *b*. In some cases its variants are due to emendation. Thus in T. Lev. xvii. 2 the priesthood of an ancient worthy is said to have been πλήρης μετὰ κυρίου, *i.e.* שלם עם יי, "perfect with the Lord." But the scribe of *b*, failing naturally to understand this Semitic

[1] In the following passages *c* adds περὶ Χῦ on the margin: T. Sim. vi. 5 (in text); T. Lev. iv. 1, x. 2, xvi. 3, xviii. 2; T. Iss. vii. 7; T. Naph. viii. 2 (at top of page); T. Ash. vii. 3; T. Jos. xix. 3; T. Benj. iii. 8, ix. 2. Of the above, *h i* omit the first three in the T. Lev., *h* omits the addition in the T. Sim., and *i* the addition in the T. Naph. Otherwise *h i* agree with *c*, except that they go a step further than *c* and insert the addition in the text.

Greek, wrote *πλήρης μετὰ φόβου κυρίου*. Likewise as an emendation we should explain the addition of *ζήσεσθε* in T. Jud. xvi. 2 against all other authorities, and the change of *συντρέχει* into *συνεργεῖ* in T. Benj. iv. 5, of *συγγένῃ* into *συμπείσθῃς* (on the ground of modesty) in T. Jos. vii. 3 as also in iv. 5, of *διαβουλίου* into *διαβόλου* in T. Ash. i. 9, of *πατράσιν* into *πέρασιν* in T. Dan v. 10, of *δώσει* into *βοῶν* in T. Dan v. 9, of *ἀπέθνησκε* into *ἀπέθανεν* in T. Lev. xi. 7 (see note 34), and of *πρόσεχε* into *μὴ πρόσεχε* in T. Lev. ix. 9, in nearly every case with disastrous results. Again, without a shadow of authority it adds *καὶ ἐθαύμαζον* at the close of T. Jos. xvii. 5. Finally, in T. Zeb. viii. 6 it gives a most unlikely text along with *g*. On the other hand, in T. Jud. v. 2 the words *καὶ νότου* which it inserts after *δυσμῶν*, though not found in any other Greek MS. nor in A or S, are found in the Hebrew Midrash which contains fragments of the Testament; see my Text, App. I. (p. 237, l. 4, ראובן ' ' ' מן־הדרום). In some cases it agrees with A against *a β-b* (T. Naph. ii. 8, n. 61). Thus it is clear that, though in many respects *b* is a good representative of the type *b d g*, it would form an insecure foundation on which to construct a text.

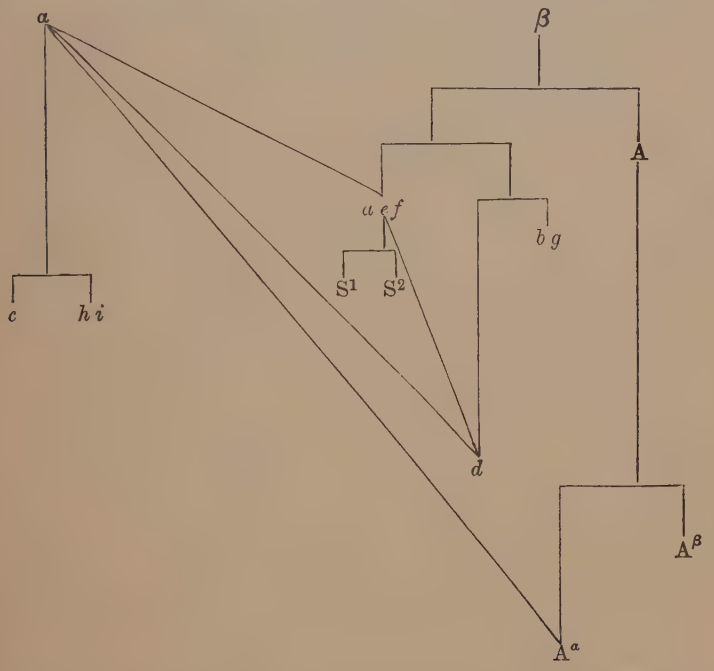
*d*. This is a most interesting MS. It exhibits peculiar readings on almost every page. First of all, *d* is a conflate text. This is manifest in the titles of the Testaments where *d* combines the readings of *a* and *β*. Such conflations are common in *d*. See T. Jud. vi. 3 (n. 17); T. Zeb. viii. 6 (n. 22); T. Jos. iv. 7 (n. 44), xvi. 5 (n. 23).

In other cases *d* shows affinities with *a*—thus in T. Lev. xiii. 8[a] *d* supports *a* against *β-d* A S; with *a* A in reading *σοφία*, when *β-d* read *αὐτή*, in T. Lev. xiii. 8, and by reading *ὑμῶν*, which *β-d* om. in xiv. 7; and with *a* A[a] S[1] in omitting a clause in ix. 11. Again, *d* agrees at

times with *a e f* against *b g*; cf. T. Gad v. 9 (n. 59), viii. 1 (n. 4); T. Ash. iv. 2 (n. 10). In one passage, T. Jud. ix. 5, I have adopted παραθήσας into the text on the testimony of *d* A. In another passage, T. Benj. vi. 4 (n. 26), it seems to me to have preserved the original text. Thus *d*, which is naturally related to *b g* A, shows many traces of the influence of *a* and *a e f*.

*g*. This is a very corrupt MS. and is chiefly remarkable for its omissions. It is very closely related to A, and *g* A occasionally agree against all the other authorities.

We shall now attempt to represent on a genealogical table the affinities between the various MSS. and versions:—




In this table all the main connections are represented. It fails, however, to exhibit the influence in some cases of various descendants of β on *h i*.

## § 10. Editions of the Greek Version—$\beta$

Grabe, *Spicilegium Patrum*, i., Oxon. 1698; 2nd ed. 1714. The text of the Testaments given in this edition is given according to *b*, but inaccurately, and a few of the variations of *a* appended. With it was printed Grosseteste's Latin translation, for which two Bodley MSS. were used.[1]

Fabricius, *Codex pseudepigraphus Vet. Testamenti*, i., Hamburg, 1713. This is simply a reprint of Grabe's text.

Gallandi, *Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum*, i., Venetiis, 1788. This also is a reprint of Grabe's text.

Sinker, *Testamenta XII. Patriarcharum, ad fidem codicis Cantabrigiensis, edita: accedunt lectiones cod. Oxoniensis*, Cambridge, 1869. We have here a most accurate reproduction of *b*, but we cannot speak so well of the collation of *a* which is given in the footnotes. This contains many serious errors.

*Testamenta XII. Patriarcharum: Appendix containing a Collation of the Roman and Patmos MSS. and Bibliographical Notes*, Cambridge, 1879. These are the MSS. denoted by *c g* in the present edition. The collation of *c* was made for Dr. Sinker by Guidi, and is on the whole accurately done. I have discovered some errors through the photographic reproduction which I had executed for me in the Vatican. On p. 4 Dr. Sinker has expressed the conviction that "in any future critical revision of the text the Cambridge MS. must form the basis." *b* is undoubtedly a valuable MS., but it can never again enjoy this distinction.

[1] The actual "copy" that Grabe sent to the press is preserved in Queen's College, Oxford (No. 214). See Sinker, p. ix.

## § 11. Modern Translations [1] of the Greek Version—β

Into English. Whiston, *Collection of Authentick Records belonging to the Old and New Testament*, 1727, i. 294 *sqq.*

Sinker, *Ante-Nicene Christian Library*, 1871, xxii. 13-79. This is an admirable piece of translation based on Sinker's text. The present editor has found it of great service.

Into German. Anonymous, *Aechte apokryphische Bücher der heiligen Schrift, welche noch ausser der Bibel vorhanden sind.* Tübingen, 1857.

Schnapp in Kautzsch's *Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen*, 1900, ii. 458-506. This translation is based on Sinker's text. The translation follows the lines of his own brochure published in 1884. But great advances have been made since that date, of which very little notice is taken in this translation. From the standpoint of our present critical knowledge this translation is already antiquated. Further, from what I have shown in §§ 13, 14, it is clear that in a very large number of passages the Greek cannot be translated unless through retranslation into Hebrew. Yet Schnapp (p. 459) writes that no certain proof of a Hebrew original can be offered, and sustains this assertion by referring to Dillmann in Ewald's *Jahrbb. der bibl. Wissensch.* iii. 91 *sqq.* Bousset (*Z. für NTliche Wissenschaft*, 1900, pp. 142-143) criticises this translation very severely, and with justice.

[1] On the numerous earlier translations into English made from Grosseteste's Latin version, see Sinker's *Appendix*, pp. 11-14; into French, *ibid.* pp. 15-16; German, *ibid.* pp. 16-18; also in Dutch, Flemish, Danish, Icelandic, and Bohemian, *ibid.* pp. 18-23. So far as I am aware, there is no French translation made directly from the Greek, as that in Migne (*Dictionnaire des Apocryphes*, i. 854-935) is merely a reprint of that made by Masé in 1713 (*ibid.* p. 15) from the Latin.

## § 12. Critical Inquiries

Before giving a simple enumeration of these critical studies, it will be well to indicate the elements in them which have led to such conflicting conclusions on the part of scholars.

The main body of the Testaments could not have been written by any other than a Jew of the Pharisaic school; for the greater part of its statements, references, and allusions cannot be understood, unless from a knowledgè of the Talmud, Targums, and Midrashim, and the history of pre-Christian Judaism. On the other hand, the text contains a considerable number of prophecies relating to the Messiah which have undoubtedly sprung from a Christian source. The problem, therefore, before scholars was shortly: they had here a work of considerable extent, which, with the exception of some twenty clauses, was thoroughly Jewish in thought and idiom. These clauses were of Christian origin, and mainly of a Patripassian character.

To account for these conflicting Jewish and Christian elements, Grabe (*Spicil. Patrum,* 1714, i. 129-144, 335-374) suggested that the book was written by a Jew, and subsequently interpolated by a Christian. This hypothesis, however, was for the time so successfully combated by Corrodi (*Krit. Gesch. des Chiliasmus,* ii. 101-110), that most subsequent writers, such as Nitzsch, Lücke, Ritschl, Hilgenfeld, Dillmann, and Sinker have practically ignored the question of the integrity of the book, and confined themselves mainly to the discussion of its religious and national affinities.

To show the hopeless confusion into which criticism was plunged by rejecting the hypothesis of Grabe, we shall notice shortly the conflicting views advanced by the various students of our book. Nitzsch (*De Test. XII. Patr. libro*

*V.T. Pseud.*, 1810) describes the author as a Jewish Christian of Alexandria who had imbibed many of the Essene doctrines that were then current. Ritschl (*Entsteh. der altkathol. Kirche*, 322 *sqq.*) assigns the book to a Gentile Christian, appealing principally to T. Benj. xi. (a Christian interpolation). Ritschl's view was vigorously assailed by Kayser, who, availing himself largely of the theory of interpolation, ascribed the book to Ebionitic circles. Kayser's treatise was in turn examined by Vorstman (*De Test. XII. Patr. origine et pretio*, 1857), who, after a detailed criticism of Kayser, concluded that the Testaments showed no trace of Ebionism, but were the work of a Gentile Christian. Hardly had Vorstman thus vindicated the view of Ritschl, when the second edition of Ritschl's work appeared, in which (pp. 172-177) his former contention was abandoned, and the theory of a Nazarene authorship advocated. Ritschl's first view, however, has received the continued support of Hilgenfeld, while Langen and Sinker hold fast to the theory of a Jewish Christian authorship.

If there were no other methods of determining the questions of authorship and date than those pursued by Nitzsch and his successors, finality or even progress in such matters would be a sheer impossibility. At last the criticism of the book was lifted out the region of fruitless logomachies by Schnapp (*Die Test. der XII. Patr. untersucht*, 1884), who revived Grabe's hypothesis of Christian interpolation, but developed it to illegitimate extremes. Recent research has notably confirmed Grabe's hypothesis; for Conybeare's articles in the *J.Q.R.*, with his collation of some of the Armenian MSS, proves that, when the Armenian version was made, the Greek text was free from several of the Christian interpolations. This subject has been further prosecuted by Preuschen, and particularly by Bousset in the *Z. f. NTliche Wissenschaft*, 1900, 141-175. In

the present edition these critical questions are discussed after an exhaustive examination of the documentary evidence.

The following is a list of critical inquiries on the Testaments :—

Grabe, in his edition, *Spicileg.* i. 129-144, 335-374.

Corrodi, *Kritische Geschichte des Chiliasmus*, ii. 101-110.

K. J. Nitzsch, *Commentatio critica de Testamentis XII Patriarcharum, libro V.T. pseudepigrapho*, Wittenberg, 1810.

Wieseler, *Die* 70 *Wochen und die* 63 *Jahrwochen des Propheten Daniel*, 1839, 226 *sqq.*

Lücke, *Einleitung in die Offenbarung Johannis*[2], 1852, 334-337.

Dorner, *Entwickelungsgeschichte der Lehre von der Person Christi*, i. 254-264.

Ritschl, *Die Enstehung der altkathol. Kirche*, 1st ed., 322 *sqq.*; 2nd ed. 1857, 172-177.

Kayser, "Die Test. der XII. Patr." in the *Beiträge zu den theologischen Wissenschaften*, edited by Reuss and Cunitz, 1851, iii. 107-140.

Vorstman, *Disquisitio de Testamentorum XII. Patriarcharum origine et pretio*, Rotterdam, 1857.

Hilgenfeld, *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftl. Theol.*, 1858, 395 *sqq.*; 1871, 302 *sqq.*

Van Hengel, "De Testamenten der twaalf Patriarchen op nieuw ter sprake gebragt" (*Godgeleerde Bijdragen*,1860).

Ewald, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*[3], viii. 363-369.

Langen, *Das Judenthum in Palaestina*, 1869, pp. 140-157.

Sinker in his edition.

Geiger, *Jüdische Zeitschrift für Wissensch. und Leben*, 1869, 116-135; 1871, 123-125.

Rönsch, *Book of Jubilees*, 1874, pp. 325-331.

Dillmann, Art. "Pseudepigraphen" in Herzog's *Real-Encyc.*[2] xii. 361-362.

Schnapp, *Die Testamente der zwölf Patriarchen untersucht*, Halle, 1884.

Pick, "The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs," *Lutheran Church Review*, 1885, pp. 161-186.

Baljon, "De Testamenten der XII. Patriarchen," *Theol. Studien*, 1886, pp. 208-231.

Sinker, "The Testaments of the XII. Patriarchs," in Smith and Wace's *Dict. of Christian Biography*, 1887, iv. 865-874.

Deane, *Pseudepigrapha*, 1891, pp. 162-192.

Faye, *Les Apocalypses juives*, 1892, pp. 217-221.

Conybeare, "On the Jewish Authorship of the Testaments of the XII. Patriarchs," *J.Q.R.*, 1893, v. 375-398.

Kohler, "The Pre-Talmudic Haggada," *J.Q.R.*, 1893, v. 400-406.

Harnack, *Gesch. der altchristl. Litteratur*, 1897, II. i. 566-570.

Schürer, *Gesch. des Jüdischen Volkes*[3], 1898, iii. 252-262.

Charles, Art. "Apocalyptic Literature," *Encyc. Bibl.*, 1899, i. 237-241); "Testaments of the XII. Patriarchs," Hastings' *Bible Dict.*, 1902, iv. 721-725; *Book of Jubilees*, pp. 170-172, 179, 185, etc.; "Testaments of the XII. Patriarchs," *Encyclopædia Brit.*[10], 1902, xxv. pp. 492-493; *Hibbert Journal*, 1905, pp. 558-573).

Beer, Art. "Pseudepigraphen," in Herzog's *Real-Encyc.*[3], 1905, xvi. 253-256.

Conybeare, "Testaments of the XII. Patriarchs," *Jewish Encyclopedia*, 1906, xii. 113.

Kohler, "Testaments of the XII. Patriarchs," *Jewish Encyclopedia*, 1906, xii. 113-118.

Bousset, "Die Testamente der zwölf Patriarchen," in *Z. f. NTliche Wissenschaft*, 1900, pp. 187-209, 344-346.

## § 13. The Greek Version a Translation from the Hebrew—H

Apart from Grabe, no notable scholar has advocated a Hebrew original till within the last decade. Even Grabe, though he declared for a Hebrew original, advanced no linguistic arguments in support of his contention. It is remarkable that such an eminent critic as Dillmann could write (Herzog, *Real-Encyc.*[2] xii. 362): "Since the publication of Nitzsch's study all are agreed that the book is not a translation, but was originally written in Greek." The judgment of Dr. Sinker is still more pronounced (*Test. XII. Patr.* p. 31): "The Testaments in their present form were no doubt written in the Hellenistic Greek, in which we now possess them, presenting as they do none of the peculiar marks which characterise a version. Whether there was a Hebrew work, on which the present was modelled, a supposition by no means improbable in itself, we cannot tell, nor is it a matter of much importance."

To two Jewish scholars, Kohler[1] and Gaster, within the last fourteen years belongs the honour of reopening the question of the Hebrew original of the Testaments. Only Gaster,[2] however, has offered any linguistic evidence. But his article on the question, though it contains a few excellent points, failed to establish his thesis. Shortly after the above articles were written the present editor began his study of the Testaments, in the course of which he early came to the conclusion which he set forth later in the *Encyclopædia Biblica* (i. 241, 1899), that the bulk of this work was written before 100 B.C., therein confirming an earlier speculation of Kohler. Since that date a close

[1] *J.Q.R.* 1893, v. 400-406.

[2] "The Hebrew text of one of the Testaments of the XII. Patriarchs" (*Proceedings of the Society of Bibl. Archæology*, Dec. 1893, Jan. 1904).

examination of the Greek text has brought to light a number of facts that put the question of a Hebrew original beyond the possibility of question. The results of this examination will now be placed before the reader, who will find a fuller statement of the evidence in the Introduction to my Text.

I. *Hebrew constructions and expressions are to be found on every page. Though the vocabulary is Greek, the idiom is frequently Hebraic and foreign to the genius of the Greek language.*

T. Reub. iii. 8, *συνιὼν ἐν τῷ νόμῳ* = בן בתורה. iv. 6, *οὐκ ἐν καιρῷ αὐτῶν* = בלא עתם. vi. 11, *ἐν αὐτῷ ἐξελέξατο* = בו בחר.

T. Sim. iv. 4, *ἠγάπησέ με σὺν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς μου* (*a*) = אהבני עם אחי, "loved me as he did my brothers." So *β* A, which read *ὡς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀδελφούς*. v. 4, *ἐν Λευὶ ἀδικήσουσι* = בלוי יַרֵעוּ. v. 5, *οὐ δυνήσονται πρὸς Λευί* = לא יכלו ללוי. The same Hebraism recurs in T. Iss. iv. 4, T. Dan v. 4.

T. Jud. vii. 1, *ὄχλος βαρύς* (*h i β*) = חיל כבד, "a numerous host." xx. 4, *ἐν στήθει ὀστέων αὐτοῦ*—this utterly unintelligible phrase becomes at once clear on retranslation. Thus it = בלב עצמו, "on his very heart." xxi. 5, *ἐσθίειν τὴν τράπεζαν αὐτοῦ* = אכל שלחנו. xxv. 1, *ἔξαρχοι σκήπτρων* = שרי שבטים, "chiefs of the tribes." xxv. 2, *τρυφή* = עדן, which in the text means "Eden."

T. Iss. v. 7, *ἐκλήρωσεν ἐν αὐτοῖς* (*β*) = הנחיל להם.

T. Gad ii. 2, *προσεθέμην αὐτῷ μῖσος* = הוספתי שנא אתו, "I hated him still more."

T. Ash. iii. 1, *ὁ θεὸς ἀναπαύεται εἰς αὐτὴν* (*β* A $S^1$) = אלהים ישכן בה, "God hath His habitation therein."

T. Jos. ii. 3, *ἔδωκέ με ὁ κύριος εἰς οἰκτιρμοὺς ἐνώπιον* = נתן אתי לרחמים לפני (cf. Dan. i. 9), "granted me to find

mercy in the sight of." xii. 3, *ποίησον μετ' αὐτοῦ κρίσιν* = עשה משפט עמו.

T. Benj. x. 11, *κατοικήσετε ἐπ' ἐλπίδι ἐν ἐμοί* = תשבו לבטח בי, "ye shall dwell securely with me." The same misrendering is found in the LXX of Ezek. xxviii. 26; xxxiv. 28, etc.

II. *Dittographic renderings in the Greek of the same Hebrew expression; also dittographic expressions in the Greek implying dittographs in the Hebrew.*

T. Naph. iii. 5, *ἀπὸ κατοικησίας . . . τάξας τὴν ἀοίκητον* is a clear instance of dittography. See note *in loc.* In vi. 2 ($\beta$ A $S^1$) the impossible *μεστὸν ταρίχων ἐκτὸς ναυτῶν* has arisen from a dittograph in the Hebrew; for *μεστὸν ταρίχων* = מלאה מלחים, a corrupt dittograph of בלא מלחים = *ἐκτὸς ναυτῶν*.

A very notable dittograph occurs in T. Naph. viii. 4, 6.

4. Ἐὰν οὖν καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐργάσησθε τὸ καλόν,
εὐλογήσουσιν ὑμᾶς οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι,
καὶ ὁ Θεὸς δοξασθήσεται ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν δ' ὑμῶν,
καὶ ὁ διάβολος φεύξεται ἀφ' ὑμῶν,
⌈καὶ τὰ θηρία φοβηθήσονται ὑμᾶς,⌉
καὶ ὁ Κύριος ἀγαπήσει ὑμᾶς,
[καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι ἀνθέξονται ὑμῶν].

6. Τὸν δὲ μὴ ποιοῦντα τὸ καλόν,
καταράσονται αὐτὸν καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι,
καὶ ὁ Θεὸς ἀδοξήσει ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν δ' αὐτοῦ,
καὶ ὁ διάβολος οἰκειοῦται αὐτὸν ὡς ἴδιον σκεῦος,
καὶ πᾶν θηρίον κατακυριεύσει αὐτῷ
καὶ ὁ Κύριος μισήσει αὐτόν.

Here, if we compare ver. 6 with ver. 4, we see that the six lines in ver. 6 correspond line for line with the first six in ver. 4. The seventh line in ver. 4 is thus against the structure of the stanza. It is also against the parallelism.

On retranslation into Hebrew we find that this seventh line = ומלאכים יאחזוכם, which is a dittograph of the preceding line ואלהים יאהבכם.

For other instances see Introd. to my Text, § 12.

III. *Paronomasiae which are lost in Greek can be restored by retranslation into Hebrew.*

We can recover a dozen or more of these by retranslation, the most of them having to do with the names of the patriarchs. See notes on T. Sim. ii. 2 ; T. Lev. vi. 1, xi. 2, 5, 6, 7, 8 ; T. Jud. i. 3 ; T. Iss. i. 15, v. 8 ; T. Zeb. i. 3, iii. 3 ; T. Naph. i. 6, 12 ; T. Ash. i. 2, 9 ; T. Benj. i. 6.

IV. *Many passages which are obscure or wholly unintelligible in the Greek become clear on retranslation into Hebrew.*

In T. Lev. ii. 7 we have the peculiar expression *εἶδον ἐκεῖ ὕδωρ πολὺ κρεμάμενον* (*a* $A^a$). Here *κρεμάμενον*, which is surely impossible, = מוקיע, which seems corrupt for ברקיע or ורקיע = *ἐν τῷ στερεώματι*, or rather *καὶ τὸ στερέωμα*. The firmament or raqîa is actually the name of the second heaven in the Talmudic account of the Seven Heavens (Chag. $12^b$).

In T. Lev. ii. 8 (*a β* $A^\beta$) the second heaven is said to be brighter than the first, *ἦν γὰρ καὶ †ὕψος ἐν αὐτῷ ἄπειρον*. This is absurd. The greater brightness of the second heaven cannot be due to its greater loftiness. The error is in *ὕψος*. This word = גבה, corrupt for גבה = *φῶς* or *φέγγος*. Thus the brightness of the second heaven is due to the boundless light (*φῶς ἄπειρον*) in it. This light may have been physical, if we may adopt the Talmudic view that the sun, moon, and stars were in the second heaven (Chag. $12^b$).

In T. Jud. ix. 3, *ἤρθη †νεκρὸς ἐν ὄρει Σιείρ, καὶ πορευό-*

*μενος ἐν Ἀνονιρὰμ ἀπέθανεν* ($\beta$ $S^1$). The words *καὶ . . . ἀπέθανεν* are omitted by *α* as unintelligible. A comparison of the Midrash Wajjissau shows that the clause belongs to the original and gives נחלה where the Greek has *νεκρός*. Now *νεκρός* = נבלה, a corruption of the former.

In T. Dan v. 6, †*ὑπακούσονται τοῦ παρεδρεύειν τοῖς υἱοῖς Λευί*. Here "will obey with a view to attending constantly on" cannot be right; *ὑπακούσονται* = יקשיבו, corrupt for יקשרו = "will conspire."

T. Ash. v. 2, *διὸ καὶ τὸν θάνατον ἡ αἰώνιος ζωὴ* †*ἀναμένει*. This verse, omitting the interpolations, runs: "Death succeedeth to life, night to day, and darkness to light; wherefore also eternal life †awaiteth death." The last clause is absurd. Here, too, we expect the idea of succession as in the preceding clauses. I suggest that the original was אחר המות חיי העולם יקומו = *μετὰ τὸν θάνατον ἡ αἰώνιος ζωὴ ἀκολουθεῖ*, but that this was corrupted into את המות חיי העולם יקוו.

T. Jos. xi. 7, *ἐπλήθυνεν αὐτὸν ἐν χρυσίῳ καὶ ἀργυρίῳ καὶ* †*ἔργῳ* (*α*). $\beta$ A $S^1$ omit *καὶ ἔργῳ* as unintelligible. But *ἔργῳ* = עבדה, which the translator read as עַבְדָּה, but which he should have read as עֲבָדָה = "household servants." The entire clause is found in the Hebrew, T. Naph. i. 3 (see my Text, p. 238).

For many other like instances, see Introd. to my Text, § 12.

In all the above cases we have dealt only with corruptions in the text, where there was no divergence among the MSS. or versions. Yet the bulk of the restorations is so obvious, that we might take as proven our contention without further evidence. And yet the strongest evidence is still to come. In the next section we shall discuss only those passages in the text where the MSS. and versions attest different texts, *α* standing generally in opposition to

$\beta$ A S. By means of the evidence thus forthcoming we hope to advance a stage further than we have yet reached, and to prove not only that our book is derived from a Hebrew original, but that also the Hebrew existed in two recensions, $H^{\alpha}$ and $H^{\beta}$, and that $\alpha$ and $\beta$ did not originate in the Greek, but are derived respectively from $H^{\alpha}$ and $H^{\beta}$.

## § 14. $\alpha$ AND $\beta$ DERIVED RESPECTIVELY FROM TWO LOST HEBREW RECENSIONS, $H^{\alpha}$ AND $H^{\beta}$. TABLE OF AFFINITY OF ALL THE TEXTUAL AUTHORITIES.

$\alpha$ and $\beta$ are not, strictly speaking, Greek recensions, for their chief variations did not originate in the Greek, but go back to diverse forms of text already existing in the Hebrew, which we denote as $H^{\alpha}$ and $H^{\beta}$. Of these two recensions, $H^{\alpha}$ and $H^{\beta}$, sometimes one gives the correct text, sometimes the other. Whilst, therefore, it is best to print $\alpha$ and add the main variations of $\beta$ in the margin, the translator will follow a different course, and adopt now $\alpha$, now $\beta$, as his text. Only a few of the chief instances will be given. The variants will be underlined.

T. Benj. xii. 2 ($\alpha$), Ἐκοιμήθη ($\beta$ A $S^{1}$) Ἀπέθανε . . . ἐν ὕπνῳ καλῷ. γήρει καλῷ.

Here $H^{\beta}$ (*i.e.* $\beta$ A $S^{1}$) is undoubtedly right, בשֵׂיבָה טובה. In $H^{\alpha}$ שׂיבה was corrupted into שׁינה = ὕπνῳ. The same corruption was present in both $H^{\alpha}$ and $H^{\beta}$ in T. Zeb. x. 6; T. Dan vii. 1 ($c$); T. Ash. viii. 1; T. Jos. xx. 4; whereas both Hebrew recensions were right in T. Iss. vii. 9. In the late Hebrew, T. Naph. i. 1, the correct Hebrew phrase is found. See my Text, Appendix II. p. 239.

T. Ash. vi. 6 ($\alpha$), Εἰσφέρει ($\beta$ A $S^{1}$) Παραμυθεῖται αὐτὸν αὐτὸν εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον. ἐν ζωῇ.

Here $H^{\alpha}$ is right and not $H^{\beta}$. The angel of peace con-

ducts the good soul into eternal life. Here *εἰσφέρει* = יִנְחֵה, which in $H^{\beta}$ was corrupted into יִנְחַם = *παραμυθεῖται*. The text of $H^{\alpha}$ is confirmed by T. Benj. vi. 1, which reads *ὁ γὰρ ἄγγελος τῆς εἰρήνης ὁδηγεῖ τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ*.

T. Reub. iv. 1 (*α*) *Μοχθοῦντες ἐν ἔργοις καὶ ἐν γράμμασιν.* (*β*) *Μοχθοῦντες ἐν ἔργοις καὶ ἀποπλανώμενοι ἐν γράμμασιν.*

Here *α*, which is in part supported by A, is right, and *β* corrupt. *ἐν ἔργοις καλοῖς* = בְּמַעֲשִׂים יְשָׁרִים, of which יְשָׁרִים was corrupted into וְשָׂרִים = *καὶ ἀποπλανώμενοι*. Or *καλοῖς* may be a rendering of טוֹבִים, which in $H^{\beta}$ was corrupted into וְסָטִים = *καὶ ἀποπλανώμενοι*.

T. Gad v. 4 (*α*), *Ὁ φόβος τοῦ θεοῦ οἰκεῖ ἐν αὐτῷ.* (*β* A $S^{1}$) *Ὁ φόβος τοῦ θεοῦ νικᾷ τὸ μῖσος.*

Here the context supports *β* A $S^{1}$. $H^{\alpha}$ read (?) תדור בנפשו, corrupt for תוכל לשנאה (= *νικᾷ τὸ μῖσος*), which stood in $H^{\beta}$.

T. Benj. x. 4 (*α* A), *Καταλειμπάνω.* (*β* $S^{1}$), *Διδάσκω.*

Here $H^{\alpha}$ was מַנִּיחַ, and was no doubt right. It is found in the late Hebrew T. Naph. i. 3, אני מניח. In $H^{\beta}$ this word was corrupted into מגיד or מורה.

The above instances are sufficient to establish the existence of two distinct types of text in the Hebrew—$H^{\alpha}$, $H^{\beta}$. For over thirty other passages in the Testaments, where the variations between *α* and *β*, *i.e.* $H^{\alpha}$ and $H^{\beta}$, postulate the same conclusion, see Introd. to my Text, § 12. From the evidence adduced there, which could easily be added to, we conclude, therefore, that there existed two recensions of the original Hebrew, which we have already designated as $H^{\alpha}$ and $H^{\beta}$. These recensions differed from each other chiefly in words and phrases, as we gather from *α* and *β* in the Greek versions. Notwithstanding the many

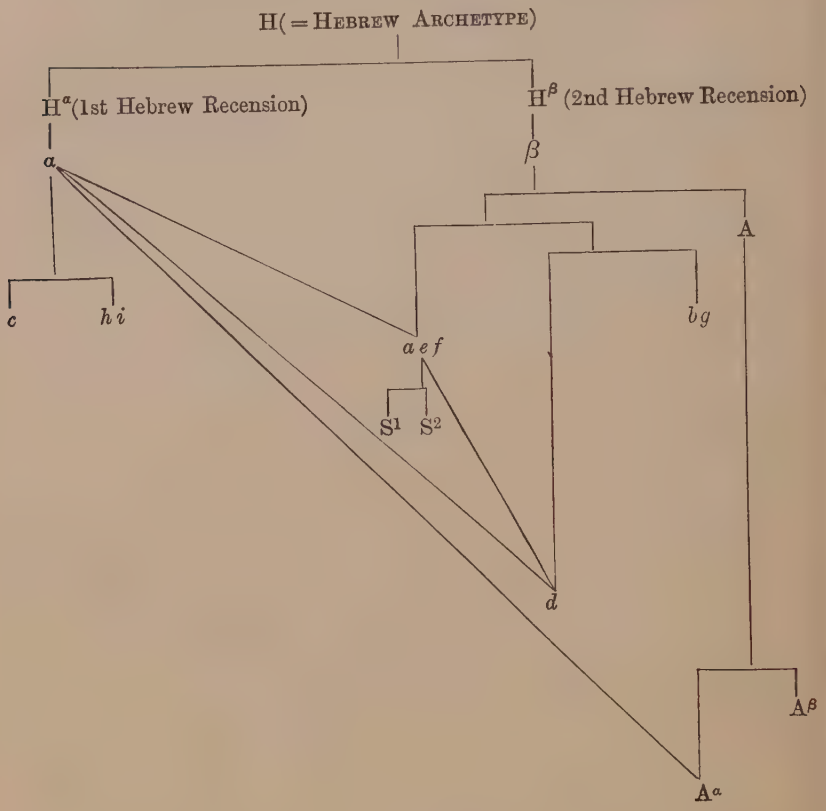
divergencies between $\alpha$ and $\beta$, their great similarities oblige us to assume either that the translator of $H^{\beta}$ used the Greek version of $H^{\alpha}$, or *vice versa*. As we shall see in § 18, the evidence is in favour of $\alpha$ being the older version. In the Book of Daniel we have a good parallel to the above; for the variations between the versions of Theodotion and the LXX in i.-iii. vii.-xii. of that book go back to variations in the Hebrew.

In some passages, however, the divergence is on a larger scale. Thus in T. Lev. ii. 7-iii. the description of the Three Heavens, more or less faithfully handed down in $\alpha A^{\alpha}$, springs from the Hebrew archetype. Here $H^{\alpha}$ preserved the original tradition. But when $H^{\alpha}$ and $H^{\beta}$ were both current, the latter suffered depravation at the hands of some scribe, who changed the description of the Three Heavens into one of the Seven Heavens. Such extensive variations again find a parallel in the two Greek versions of Dan iv., where also the variations originated in the main in the Aramaic and not in the Greek.

In many passages it is impossible to get back to $H^{\alpha}$ owing to the defective text of $\alpha$. Cf. T. Gad ii. 3-4; T. Naph. i. 12. In two passages the entire Greek version is defective, and the text is preserved alone in T. Jos. xix. 3-7; T. Benj. ii. 6-8.

There are many omissions in $H^{\alpha}$ or $\alpha$ through hmt., and some where no such explanation is possible. In some passages $H^{\alpha}$, in others $H^{\beta}$ (or possibly only $\alpha$ or $\beta$), omitted words or clauses, owing to the inconsistencies or unintelligibleness of the transmitted text. See notes on T. Jud. ix. 3; T. Ash. vi. 3; T. Jos. xi. 7.

We are now in a position to represent the affinities of the lost and existing textual authorities of the Testaments.




## § 15. Date of the Original Hebrew

Now that we recognise that the Testaments were written in Hebrew and by a Pharisee, it will not be difficult to determine their date.

1. T. Naph. v. 8 points to a period before the intervention of Rome in the affairs of Palestine; for the last foreign people to which Israel is to be subject, according to this verse, is the Syrians. Thus the time must be earlier than that of the later Maccabees.

2. Again, the eschatology is decidedly that of the

second century B.C.; for the righteous rise to share in a Messianic kingdom on the present earth.

3. But there are definite means of determining the date. Thus Reuben (T. Reub. v. 10-11) admonishes his sons: "Draw ye near to Levi in humbleness of heart, that ye may receive a blessing from his mouth . . . because him hath the Lord chosen to be king over all the nation." Here a high priest who is also king is referred to. Such a combination of offices naturally makes us think of the Maccabean priest-kings of the second century B.C. Moreover, the possibility of doubting this reference is excluded by the words that immediately follow: "And bow down before his seed; for on our behalf it shall die in wars visible and invisible." Again, in T. Sim. v. 5 we find that Levi is to 'wage the war of the Lord." Thus the high priest is not only to be high priest and civil ruler, but also a warrior. Indeed, Levi is provided with special armour by an angel for his work of conquest (T. Lev. v. 3). That the Maccabean high priests are here designed cannot be reasonably doubted. But if we pursue the references on this subject, further marks and tokens of this priestly dynasty come to light. Thus it is said that this priesthood shall be called by a new name (T. Lev. viii. 14). Now, the Maccabean high priests were the first Jewish priests to assume the title "priests of the Most High God." This title, anciently borne by Melchizedek (Gen. xiv. 18), was revived by the new holders of the high-priesthood when they displaced the Zadokite priesthood, the legitimate holders of the office. This title is found in the Book of Jubilees, the Assumption of Moses, the Talmud, and Josephus (see T. Lev. viii. 14 note). A kindred title of the same significance appears in the 110th Psalm, where the priest-king, taken by a growing number of expositors to be Simon the Maccabee, is addressed as a priest for ever after the order of Mel-

chizedek.[1] In due accord with this, our text (T. Lev. viii. 14) declares that a new name should mark the new priesthood.

From the above facts we see that our book, written as it was by a Pharisaic upholder of the Maccabees, must have been composed some time between 153, when the office of the high priest was assumed by Jonathan the Maccabee, and the closing years of the second century B.C., when the Maccabees abandoned the Pharisaic party and became Sadducees. But we can define the date within closer limits. To one of the Maccabean high priests of this period prophetic gifts are assigned by our text (T. Lev. viii. 15), in conjunction with the functions of kingship and priesthood (viii. 14). Now, in all Jewish history, from Moses to the Christian era, the triple offices of prophet, priest, and king were ascribed only to one man, *i.e.* John Hyrcanus.[2] Josephus, both in his *Antiquities* and his *Wars of the Jews* (see note on T. Lev. viii. 15) dwells on the uniqueness of John Hyrcanus in history in this respect. Even the Talmud describes him as a "second David," and as wearing two crowns, one royal and one priestly (Kidd. 66[a]), and elsewhere (Sotah, ix. 12) acknowledges his prophetic gifts. Seeing, therefore, that the Testaments refer to John Hyrcanus, we conclude that they must have been written between 137 and 105 B.C.

But the limits of the date of composition may be fixed still more definitely. For the destruction of Samaria seems to be adumbrated in the accounts of Levi's destruction of Shechem in T. Lev. v.-vi. 5. The reference to the destruc-

[1] Dr. Briggs (in his most learned work on the *Book of Psalms*, 1907, ii. 374) seems to be ignorant of the new light that has been thrown on the second century B.C. and its Messianic hopes by the Book of Jubilees and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, when he states that the Messianic hopes of the nation could not gather round the Maccabean princes. These books prove that they did gather round these princes. In the light of these fresh historical disclosures, the Maccabean reference of Ps. cx. becomes the most reasonable that has yet been advanced.

[2] Kohler was the first to suggest that Hyrcanus was here referred to.

tion of Samaria in T. Lev. vii. 2, "From this day forward shall Shechem be called *a city of imbeciles* (*πόλις ἀσυνέτων*)" seems clear; for the derisive phrase in our text appears to have been a standing designation of the Samaritans. Thus Sirach (l. 26) speaks of them as "the foolish people that dwell at Sichem." Now, both Shechem and Samaria were captured by Hyrcanus, the former within a decade of his accession, and the latter about four years before he died. As regards Shechem, it does not appear to have suffered specially on this occasion; but as to Samaria, all accounts agree that its destruction was utter and complete, and that Hyrcanus removed the very traces of the ancient city. Now it is to such an event as the latter that our text points; for it speaks of "the wrath of God coming upon them to the uttermost" (T. Lev. vi. 11). Thus if we are right in this conclusion the Testaments were written between 109 and 105 B.C.

For the date just arrived at we might possibly find confirmation in our text; for in T. Lev. xviii. 6 there is a reference to a Bath Qol received by Hyrcanus. This Bath Qol may have been that which he received on the day of the decisive victory of his two sons over Antiochus Cyzicenos, who was helping the Samaritans in their final struggle. Hyrcanus was presenting a burnt-offering in the Temple, when the voice came to him (see note on T. Lev. xviii. 6). In this Bath Qol he may have been addressed as a son of God—Jewish kings were so designated. Moreover, this would explain the language in T. Lev. xviii. 6.

If, now, we had any means of dating the breach of Hyrcanus with the Pharisees, we could draw still closer the limits of the date of composition. Possibly we are not wrong in fixing these as 109-107 B.C.

## § 16. Title of the Book

The book is simply called *πατριάρχαι* in the lists of the non-canonical books. In A they are *Διαθῆκαι τῶν Πατριαρχῶν*, and in *a b d Διαθῆκαι τῶν δώδεκα Πατριαρχῶν τῶν υἱῶν Ἰακώβ* (+ *τοῦ πατριάρχου*—*a*).

The Greek title of the Testament of Reuben was originally either *διαθήκη Ῥουβήμ*, or this with the addition of *τοῦ πρωτοτόκου υἱοῦ Ἰακὼβ καὶ Λείας*, as in *a*. And similarly with regard to the rest of the Testaments. See the Section on this question in the Introduction to my Text; also the notes at the beginning of each Testament in the present work.

The Hebrew form was צוואת ראובן. Compare the Hebrew Test. Naph. in my Text, p. 239.

## § 17. Integrity; Authorship; Sources

*Integrity and Authorship.*—I have with some hesitation come to the conclusion that the groundwork is the work of a single writer of the Pharisaic school. He is an upholder of the Law and the Temple sacrifices; he believes in the Messianic kingdom and the resurrection in the body to a new life therein. He is, however, a Pharisee of the early type—that is, a Chasid. Although believing in the necessity of war, he preaches the duties of chastity, truthfulness, forgiveness, self-control, of moderation in eating and drinking—at times even of abstinence from meat and drink.

The groundwork, which consists of about eleven-twelfths of the Testaments, after the removal of the Jewish and Christian additions (§ 19, 20), presents, it must be confessed, a want of coherence at times, and the parts dealing with the

duty of submission to Levi, or to Levi and Judah jointly, come in occasionally very abruptly. Notwithstanding, the present editor adheres to the idea of the unity of the book; for the two phenomena referred to—the strictly Chasid element in the book, and its loyal acceptance of the Maccabean dynasty—were exactly characteristic of the period to which our author belongs, and to none other before or after. Furthermore, both these parts of the book are alike universalistic in tone. On the other hand, much of the unevenness of the book may be due to faulty transmission. Thus, for example, T. Iss. v. 8 is a verse out of T. Gad.

*Sources.*—Our author has drawn freely on earlier books and traditions. He shows a wide acquaintance with the Old Testament (see Index I.), also with Sirach and 1 Enoch. But, in addition to the Scriptures and these ancient books, he made use of several works, some of which have come down to us in a more or less corrupt form. Thus, the War of Jacob and his sons against the Amorite kings, T. Jud. iii.-vii., is found in a contemporary work, the Book of Jubilees xxxiv. 1-9, and in the Midrash Wajjissau, which contains, if not the original legend, at all events a very early recast of it, and in the Book of Jashar. Again, the account of the fratricidal war between Jacob and Esau, T. Jud. ix., is given at greater length in Jubilees xxxvii.-xxxviii. In both passages the writers laid under contribution such a document as exists, though in a later form, in the Jalkut Shimeoni, i. 132 (see my notes on Jubilees, pp. 214-215).

Again, an original source for the T. Levi has just been discovered in the lost Hebrew document from which the Aramaic and Greek fragments (given in Appendix III. of my Text) were translated.

In T. Naph. ii. 8 our author has either drawn upon some existing source, or else his list of the senses, etc.,

forms the original from which the many others in Hebrew literature were modelled.

In T. Ash. i. 3-v. 2 we have the oldest description of the "Two Ways" in Jewish literature. It looks to be secondary, and dependent on some earlier document. This section proves that the writers of the Didache, Hermas, etc., were not obliged to go outside Jewish literature for their materials on this question.

Besides the above larger elements, there is a great number of individual isolated statements belonging to Jewish tradition throughout the Testaments.

Thus the references to the Canaanitish war with Egypt, T. Sim. viii. 2; T. Gad viii. 5; T. Benj. xii. 3—the date assigned indirectly to this war agreeing exactly with that directly given to it in Jubilees xlvi. 9 (see note on T. Gad viii. 5); the Watchers, T. Reub. v. 6; Levi's visions, with the description of the Three Heavens, ii. 5-v.; his ordination to the priesthood, viii. But we shall not pursue this subject further, as such elements are found in all the Testaments.

## § 18. The Date of the Greek Version

From the facts given in § 26, it follows that St. Paul was acquainted with and used the Greek version of the Testaments, and that the $\alpha$ and not the $\beta$ form; for we find that of the two direct quotations which he makes from the Testaments, one (*i.e.* Rom. i. 32) is not found in $\beta$, and the other (1 Thess. ii. 16) agrees, if we accept the reading of K L P, with $\alpha$ more nearly than with $\beta$. Thus $\alpha$ must have been made before 50 A.D. at latest.

From the evidence given in relation to the influence of the Testaments on the discourses of our Lord (see pp. lxxviii *sqq.*), we conclude that He was acquainted with them, but we

cannot determine whether it was with the Hebrew original or with the Greek translation. Notwithstanding, if the text of Matt. vi. 16, *ἀφανίζουσιν γὰρ τὰ πρόσωπα αὐτῶν*, either in itself represents the actual words in Greek of Christ, or, as is more likely, if they are an exact translation of the original Aramaic words of Christ, then it is probable that our Lord used either *α* in the Greek, or $H^{a}$ in the Hebrew.

## § 19. Jewish Additions to the Text

A large body of these additions can be classed under one head, as interpolated at a certain period and written with a well-defined object. The period is about 70-40 B.C., and the object of the additions is the overthrow of the Maccabean high-priesthood, which in the first century had become guilty of all lewdness and baseness. The additions in question are—

1. *First Century B.C. Additions*—
   - T. Lev. x., xiv.-xvi.
   - T. Jud. xvii. 2-xviii. 1 (?), xxi. 6-xxiii., xxiv. 4-6.
   - T. Zeb. ix.
   - T. Dan v. 6-7, vii. 3 (?).
   - T. Naph. iv.
   - T. Gad viii. 2.
   - T. Ash. vii. 4-7.

These passages are more or less closely bound together by sharing in a common aim, *i.e.* the denunciation of the present evil state of things under the later Maccabees, T. Lev. x., xiv.-xvi.; T. Jud. xxii.; T. Zeb. ix. 4-5; they condemn the nation as again guilty of apostasy, T. Zeb. ix. 9; T. Naph. iv. 4; T. Gad viii. 2; T. Ash. vii. 5-6; they predict the laying waste of the Temple, T. Lev. xv. 1, xvi. 4; a second captivity, T. Lev. xv. 1; T. Jud. xxiii. 3; T. Naph.

iv. 5; an ultimate redemption, either by God Himself or through the agency of a Messiah from Judah, T. Lev. xvi. 5; T. Jud. xxiv. 4-6; T. Naph. iv. 5; and a blessed return to their own land, T. Jud. xxiii. 5; T. Ash. vii. 7; T. Zeb. ix. 9.[1]

In all the above characteristics these first century B.C. passages[2] agree with the Psalms of Solomon. In fact, the language in T. Lev. xiv.-xvi. and T. Jud. xxiii. almost verbally agrees in some instances with that of these Psalms. With them, too, the hope of a Messiah from Judah is put forward afresh, and the certainty of an ultimate redemption prophesied. All the old glories of the Maccabees are forgotten, and no doubt the expectation of a Messiah from Levi, which was so fondly cherished by the faithful in the latter half of the second century, was now regarded as no better than a delusion of the evil one.

Moreover, direct allusions to individuals of the later Maccabees are easy to discover. Thus, in the bitter invective delivered against them in T. Lev. xiv. 5, "the offerings of the Lord ye shall rob, and from His portion ye shall steal the choicest parts, eating them contemptuously with harlots," the last clause refers undeniably to Alexander Jannæus; for this very fact is recounted of him by Josephus (see note *in loc.*). The lustfulness, rapacity, and murders of this king are most probably aimed at in T. Jud. xxi. 6-9. The happy reign of his widow, Alexandra, left no impression, apparently, on the writer of these fragments. He is most concerned with the civil wars between her two sons, Antigonus II. and Hyrcanus II. These wars are spoken of as clearly as this type of literature admits in T. Jud. xxii. 1-2; T. Zeb. ix. 2-4. So deplorable, so desperate is the condition of the nation, that this Jewish seer can see

[1] See, further, the note on T. Lev. xiv.-xvi.

[2] See also Bousset admirably in *Z. f. NTliche Wissenschaft*, 1900, pp. 187-193.

no remedy save in the destruction of Jerusalem and a fresh captivity. Then, and not till then, will Israel repent, and God restore them again to their own land. We have here a genuine prophecy, which was in part fulfilled in 70 A.D.

Another characteristic of these additions is their frequent citation of the Book of Enoch, as in T. Lev. x. 5, xiv. 1, xvi. 1; T. Jud. xviii. 1; T. Dan v. 6; T. Naph. iv. 1. Only in two other passages is this book quoted, *i.e.* in T. Sim. v. 4, and T. Benj. ix. 1. In the latter passage this reference is omitted by A and may safely be regarded as an interpolation, and in all probability the former is also an interpolation, although it is attested by all existing authorities. From this frequent reference to Enoch, we may reasonably conclude the existence of certain sections in that literature which have been preserved, not in the 1 Enoch (the Ethiopic Enoch), but in the later 2 Enoch (the Slavonic Enoch).

2. *Other Additions of Various Dates.*—There are a few other additions which cannot be brought under the first head. They are of various dates and spring from various sources.

T. Reub. ii. 3-iii. 2. This passage is dealt with fully in the notes in my Commentary, and is there shown to have been derived ultimately from the doctrine of Stoicism. It is manifestly at variance with its present context. It is difficult to determine when it was incorporated. The fact of its appearing both in $\alpha$ and $\beta$ A $S^1$ is in favour of its having been interpolated in the original Hebrew; but more likely it was first added in $\alpha$ and then copied into $\beta$. The chief reason against accepting the former hypothesis is the difficulty of explaining $\pi\nu\epsilon\hat{\upsilon}\mu\alpha$, which is here used repeatedly with a meaning confined to the Stoics, as that of a sense, organ, or appetite. רוח was never, so far as I can ascertain, used with this signification. Yet it is possible to assume

that some Jew did violence to the usual meanings of this word and used it, in the absence of any other possible word, as a rendering of the Stoic word πνεῦμα. This is constantly done by Greek Jews when translating from Hebrew. Some such document, then, as T. Reub. ii. 3-iii. 2 may have existed in Hebrew, and have been added to the original text of the Testaments by some Jewish scribe.

T. Lev. xvii. 1-9: an addition from a Hebrew source. T. Reub. vi. 7; T. Lev. xviii. $5^{d}$; T. Iss. iv. $4^{c}$, $5^{b}$: scribal additions. The first passage relates to Levi only.

T. Zeb. vi. 4-6, vii.-viii. 3. These passages are found only in *b d g*. They are strictly in character with the Testament (see notes on p. 117), but they can hardly have stood originally in their present context. In my notes I have shown that the saying attributed to Gamaliel II. (floruit 80-105), and likewise to another teacher, is found in viii. 3. Hence, so far as the Talmudic authorities are concerned, the original author of the saying cannot be determined. It may have been borrowed by Gamaliel from our text. On the other hand, it may have been a proverbial saying current among the Jews, and found in our text for the first time in literature, just as Matt. vii. 3, "Why dost thou behold the mote that is in thy brother's eye, and considerest not the beam that is in thine own eye?" is attributed in Arachin $16^{b}$ to R. Tarpon in the latter half of the first century A.D. "If one says, Take the mote from thy eye: he answers, Take the beam from thine eye" (quoted by Allen, *St. Matt.* p. 66).

T. Naph. v. 5: a dittograph of ver. 3.

T. Jos. x. 5-xviii. It is not improbable that this large section either displaced part of the original Testament or was added in the Hebrew. It was written in Hebrew as the rest of the Testaments. In addition to the grounds enumerated in p. 172 of my Commentary, we should observe

that, whereas the duty of truthfulness is emphatically laid down throughout the Testaments, yet in x. 5-xviii. Joseph lies several times to screen his brethren: xi. 2, 3, xiii. 6-9, xv. 2-3, xvi. 6. Further, the style of i.-x. 4 is poetical, that of x. 5-xviii. is prosaic.

## § 20. Christian Additions to the Text

These additions are found in nearly all the Testaments and were made at different periods.

T. Sim. vi. 5. Ὡς ἄνθρωπος. The passage without this addition describes simply a Theophany, references to which are frequent in the Testaments, T. Lev. ii. 11, v. 2, viii. 11; T. Jud. xxii. 2; T. Zeb. ix. 8; T. Naph. viii. 3; T. Ash. vii. 3.

vi. 7[c]. Ὅτι ὁ θεὸς σῶμα λαβὼν καὶ συνεσθίων ἀνθρώποις ἔσωσεν ἀνθρώπους. A manifest Christian interpolation.

vii. 2[b]. Θεὸν καὶ ἄνθρωπον.

vii. 2[c]. Σώσει [πάντα τὰ ἔθνη καὶ] τὸ γένος τοῦ Ἰσραήλ. So *α β*. The bracketed words are a Christian addition. The author can look forward to the salvation of the Gentiles, but he would not set their salvation before that of Israel. See note below on T. Jos. xix. 11. A speaks here only of the salvation of mankind. The same interpolation recurs in T. Jos. xix. 11 (*c β*), σώζων [πάντα τὰ ἔθνη καὶ] τὸν Ἰσραήλ, where A has simply ἡ σωτηρία τοῦ Ἰσραήλ.

T. Lev. iv. 1[h]. Ἐπὶ τῷ πάθει τοῦ ὑψίστου. This Christian addition transforms an account of the Judgment into a description of the events accompanying the Crucifixion. The addition, moreover, was made by a Patripassianist.

iv. 4[bc]. Ἕως ἐπισκέψεται κύριος πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐν σπλάγχνοις [υἱοῦ] αὐτοῦ ἕως αἰῶνος.

[Πλὴν οἱ υἱοί σου ἐπιβαλοῦσι χεῖρας ἐπ' αὐτὸν τοῦ ἀνασκολοπίσαι αὐτόν.]

The Christian interpolators here transform an account of God's coming to dwell with men (cf. v. 2, ἕως ἐλθὼν κατοικήσω ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ Ἰσραήλ) into a prediction of God's sending His Son, and of His crucifixion by the priests.

x. 2. Εἰς τὸν Σωτῆρα τοῦ κόσμου Χριστόν. The context deals with the wickedness of the high priests in the first century B.C.

xiv. 1. Here *a* alone by the addition of the words ἐπ' αυτόν transforms a purely Jewish passage into a Christian one.

xiv. 2. Οἵτινες ἐπιβαλοῦσι τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸν Σωτῆρα τοῦ κόσμου. An addition from the same hand as iv. 4[c].

xvi. 3. This verse may refer to the murder of some Jewish worthy. See my notes *in loc.* Otherwise it is a Christian addition.

xvii. 2. Καὶ ἐν ἡμέραις χαρᾶς αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ κόσμου αὐτὸς ἀναστήσεται. This may or may not be an interpolation. It is unintelligible in its present context.

xviii. 7. Ἐν τῷ ὕδατι. This slight addition changes a description of the glorification of John Hyrcanus into a description of the baptism of Christ.

xviii. 9. Ὁ δε Ἰσραὴλ ἐλαττωθήσεται ἐν ἀγνωσίᾳ καὶ σκοτισθήσεται ἐν πένθει. An anti-Jewish Christian addition.

T. Jud. xxiv. 4. Possibly a Christian interpolation.

T. Iss. vii. 7[f]. According to some of the MSS this line is Christian. See notes.

T. Zeb. ix. 8. This verse in *a*, *a ef*, A $S^1$, describes a Theophany in very startling words—"Ye shall see Him (*i.e.* God) in Jerusalem." But these words are found in the genuine text of Ps. lxxxiv. 7, as in the LXX,

*ὀφθήσεται ὁ θεὸς ἐν Σιών.* So also the Syriac and the Vulg. This very clause is found in T. Naph. viii. 3. In *b d g*, however, we have the Christian addition *ἐν σχήματι ἀνθρώπου.*

T. Dan v. 10. *Ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς* [*Ἰούδα καὶ*] *τοῦ Λευί.* Here the interpolation is clumsy. He ought to have changed *φυλῆς* to *φυλῶν.* Besides, the order betrays the interpolator's hand. In the original Testaments, when the tribes are mentioned together, Levi always precedes Judah. See T. Sim. vii. 1; T. Gad viii. 1; T. Jos. xix. 11.

v. 13. *Κύριος ἔσται ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῆς* [*τοῖς ἀνθρώποις συναναστρεφόμενος*] *καὶ ὁ Ἅγιος Ἰσραὴλ βασιλεύων ἐπ' αὐτῆς* [*ἐν ταπεινώσει καὶ πτωχείᾳ καὶ ὁ πιστεύων ἐπ' αὐτῷ βασιλεύσει ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐν ἀληθείᾳ*]. The text describes a Theophany, as it does frequently elsewhere (see note above on T. Sim. vi. 5). The Christian additions transform it into a prophecy of Christ.

vi. 7. *β* $S^1$ add *Σωτήρ* against *α* A.

vi. 9. *Ἵνα δέξηται ὑμᾶς ὁ Σωτὴρ τῶν ἐθνῶν. ἐστὶ γὰρ ἀληθὴς καὶ μακρόθυμος, πρᾷος καὶ ταπεινός, καὶ ἐκδιδάσκων διὰ τῶν ἔργων τὸν νόμον Κυρίου.* In its present form this is undoubtedly Christian.

T. Naph. viii. 2. *Διὰ γὰρ τοῦ †Ἰούδα ἀνατελεῖ ἡ σωτηρία τῷ Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ἐν †αὐτῷ εὐλογηθήσεται Ἰακώβ.*

viii. 3. *Διὰ †τοῦ σκήπτρου αὐτοῦ† ὀφθήσεται ὁ θεὸς* [*κατοικῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις*] *ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.*

In my Text and Commentary I have with Bousset emended *τοῦ Ἰούδα* into *αὐτῶν*, since the preceding words are *ἐντείλασθε τοῖς τέκνοις ὑμῶν ἵνα ἐνοῦνται τῷ Λευὶ καὶ τῷ Ἰούδα. τοῦ Ἰούδα* would thus be due to a Christian scribe, who likewise changed *αὐτοῖς* into *αὐτῷ* and *τῶν σκήπτρων αὐτῶν* into *τοῦ σκήπτρου αὐτοῦ.* Perhaps, however, the singular is right throughout, and *Λευί* stood originally instead of *Ἰούδα*, but T. Jos. xix. 11 is against this.

T. Gad viii. 2. *Ὅπως τιμήσωσιν* †*Ἰούδα καὶ Λευί*†. This order of the two tribes is due to a Christian scribe. See note *in loc.*

T. Ash. vii. 3. *Ἕως οὗ ὁ ὕψιστος ἐπισκέψηται τὴν γῆν, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐλθὼν* [*ὡς ἄνθρωπος μετὰ ἀνθρώπων ἐσθίων καὶ πίνων*] *καὶ συντρίβων τὴν κάραν τοῦ δρακόντος ἐπὶ τοῦ ὕδατος, οὗτος σώσει τὸν Ἰσραὴλ καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη* [*θεὸς εἰς ἄνδρα ὑποκρινόμενος*]. The original text described God's coming to earth and destroying the primeval dragon in the waters (Ps. lxxiv. 13) and saving Israel and all mankind, as the chief prophets taught. The Christian additions are obvious.

T. Jos. xix. 8. For a full treatment of the passage, see note *in loc.*

xix. 11 (*α β*). *Ἀνατελεῖ ὑμῖν* [*ὁ ἀμνὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, ὁ αἴρων τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ κόσμου*] *σώζων* [*πάντα τὰ ἔθνη καὶ*] *τὸν Ἰσραήλ.*

The method of the interpolator becomes manifest, if we compare the above with the text of A, *i.e. ἀνατελεῖ ἡ σωτηρία τοῦ Ἰσραήλ.* The order *ἔθνη καὶ . . . Ἰσραήλ* betrays the hand of the Christian interpolator. See also next passage.

T. Benj. iii. 8 (*c β* $S^1$). *Περὶ τοῦ ἀμνοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ Σωτῆρος τοῦ κόσμου.* This is a Christian interpolation as well as the last words of the verse *ἐν αἵματι διαθήκης ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ ἐθνῶν καὶ τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ καὶ καταλύσει Βελίαρ καὶ τοὺς ὑπηρέτας.* Observe the order "Gentile . . . Jew." A omits both passages.

ix. 3-5. Obviously Christian. This is the only passage where A has admitted Christian interpolations in T. Benj.

x. 7 (*c β*). *Ἡμεῖς ἀναστησόμεθα . . . προσκυνοῦντες τὸν βασιλέα τῶν οὐρανῶν* [*τὸν ἐπὶ γῆς φανέντα ἐν μορφῇ ἀνθρώπου ἐν ταπεινώσει, καὶ ὅσοι πιστεύσωσιν αὐτῷ ἐπὶ*

τῆς γῆς χαρίσονται σὺν αὐτῷ]. A omits the interpolation. The hand of the interpolator is obvious.

x. 8 (*c β*). Κρινεῖ Κύριος ἐν πρώτοις τὸν Ἰσραὴλ περὶ τῆς ἀδικίας [ὅτι παραγενόμενον θεὸν ἐν σαρκί οὐκ ἐπιστευσαν αὐτῷ]. A omits the interpolation.

T. Benj. x. 9 (*c β*). Καὶ τότε κρινεῖ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη [ὅσα οὐκ ἐπίστευσαν αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς φανέντι]. A omits the interpolation.

xi. Here the interpolators have been hard at work. While one interpolator transformed the original, which spoke only of Benjamin, into a prophecy of Christ (*c*), the other transformed it into a prophecy of St. Paul (*β*). See notes *in loc.*

## § 21. Midrash Wajjissau, containing Hebrew Fragments of the Testament of Judah

The part of the Midrash which has preserved fragments of the Testament of Judah is reprinted in Appendix I. of my Text from Jellinek's *Bet ha-Midrasch*, 1-3. The questions naturally arise: is the Midrash based on the Testament of Judah, or are both works so far as they relate to Judah based on a common original? A comparison of both works with Jub. xxxiv. 1-9 will, I think, make it clear that in the middle of the second century B.C. there existed an account of the war of the Amorite kings against Jacob and his sons. This account both Jubilees and the Testaments laid under contribution, and the latter more fully than the former. Further elements of this early history are contained in the Midrash just mentioned; for these help to explain the over-abbreviated descriptions in both Jubilees and the Testaments. On the other hand, later elements have entered on a large scale into the section of the Book of Jashar which deals with this subject.

## § 22. Late Hebrew Testament of Naphtali

I have printed this Testament in Appendix II. of my Text, and its translation in Appendix I. of the present volume. My Text follows the Oxford MS, which I designate as A. I have used Gaster's[1] collation of P, which is a twelfth-century MS now in Paris, and borrowed from his edition some readings which he in turn has taken from Wertheimer's edition (printed at Jerusalem in 1890). Furthermore, for the sake of convenience I have adopted the division into chapters which appears in Kautzsch's *Apokr. und Pseudep.* ii. 489-492. For the division into verses the present editor is responsible. Dr. Gaster, to whose text reference has just been made, is of opinion that in the Hebrew text which is printed in our Appendix "we have undoubtedly the original version of the Testament, free from any interpolation." Further, he adds: "In comparing this (the Hebrew Testament) with the Greek version, we are struck by the great disparity between the two. In the Hebrew version whole chapters of the Greek are missing, whilst in the Greek the whole of the Hebrew is condensed into four and a half chapters, the contents transposed and mangled almost beyond recognition. The Greek counterpart of the Hebrew makes no sense and has no meaning at all; whilst the Hebrew is rounded off, and complete, and perfectly clear." These theses of Dr. Gaster have not been accepted in the world of scholarship. Almost universally scholars who have worked on this field of literature deny the validity of his conclusions. In the first place, the style of the Hebrew is late; in the next place, even if it were early, it could lay no claims to being the original of the Greek "Testament." All that

[1] Gaster, "The Hebrew Text of one of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs" (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, December 1893 and February 1894).

could be urged is that the two texts possess an exiguous[1] amount of common material. In all other respects they diverge, and the evidence points to the conclusion that the Hebrew text is in part based directly or indirectly on the primitive Hebrew text from which the Greek text was translated.

On the following grounds we cannot accept the Hebrew text as the original Testament of Naphtali.

(1) The Hebrew Testament does not end as all the Testaments do, in the patriarch taking leave of his children.

(2) There is throughout this late Hebrew Testament a strong personal feeling of hostility to Joseph. Thus his brethren complain that they have been exiled through his being a bondservant in Egypt (i. 10). Furthermore, not a single word in favour of Joseph's personal character is uttered. On the other hand, in the Greek Testaments, wherever Joseph as an individual is mentioned, he is praised either explicitly or implicitly.[2] And this is true in the single personal reference to him in the Greek Testament of Naphtali i. 8. Where the name Joseph stands for Northern Israel, as in T. Naph. v. 7, vi. 6, etc., the matter is different, and the attitude to Joseph in this relation is the same in both the Greek and Hebrew Testaments.

(3) The account of the senses or powers of man in x. 6 of the Hebrew Testament could not be the original of ii. 8 in the Greek Testament. There are four Hebrew texts of the senses, including that in the Hebrew Testament (see notes *in loc.* in my Translation), and the last is the most remote from the Greek Testament, which can be best explained from the list in Berakoth $61^{ab}$.

(4) In the conception of Michael the two Testaments do

[1] The text in my Appendix amounts to five pages. The verbal coincidences in these pages with the Greek Testament amount to about one-third of a page. In one or two passages, however, it is helpful in explaining corruptions in the Greek text, as I have shown in my notes.

[2] T. Reub. iv. 8; T. Sim. iv. 4, 6; T. Levi xiii. 9; T. Zeb. viii. 4, etc., etc.

not wholly agree. In the Hebrew (viii. 4) he is represented as the head of the seventy angels, who instructed the seventy families that sprang from Noah in the seventy languages. Michael's duty is to be the bearer of God's commands to men. But in the original Testaments Michael plays a loftier rôle. He is not merely the angelic patron of Israel, but the intercessor for the righteous of all nations, their protector against Beliar, and the mediator between God and man.

(5) The late and conflate character of this late Hebrew *réchauffé* is shown by the fact that it contains two phrases drawn from two other Testaments, *i.e.* in i. 4 (my silver . . . my gold . . . all my substance") from T. Jos. xi. 6, and in i. 8 ("The Lord and I are witness") from T. Lev. xix. 3.

(6) So distinctively Jewish or Judaistic is the matter of the Greek Testament that the Christian interpolators were unable to find a single context that naturally lent itself to the exercise of their ingenuity.

## § 23. Aramaic and Greek Fragments containing Phrases and Clauses from an original Source of the Testament of Levi and the Book of Jubilees.

Of the Aramaic texts which are printed in Appendix III., the Cambridge fragments were discovered by Mr. H. L. Pass in the Geniza collection of the University Library and identified by him as a part of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. He subsequently published them in the *J.Q.R.* xii. 651 *sqq.* The Oxford fragment was found some time later by Mr. Cowley among the Geniza fragments in the Bodleian Library, and briefly described in the Catalogue, No. 2835, 27. The two fragments were written on vellum by the same hand, and not later, in the opinion of Mr. Pass, than the eleventh century.

Both the above fragments were recently published in the *J.Q.R.*, 1907, pp. 566-583, by Mr. Cowley and the present editor.

The deciphering and translation of the Oxford fragment were almost wholly the task of Mr. Cowley, my part being limited to occasional suggestions or corrections, and attempts at getting behind the Aramaic and Greek fragments to the original presupposed by them.

The Greek fragment was found by the present writer in a tenth century MS of the Testaments which Professor Lake photographed for him on Mt. Athos, and which is denoted by the letter *e* in this edition. This fragment is interpolated in the midst of a verse in the Testament of Levi, *i.e.* xviii. 2. This fragment is unique in Greek literature just as the Aramaic fragments are likewise unique in Aramaic. It is very remarkable that these Greek and Aramaic fragments agree word for word, where they coexist. Into their mutual relations I shall enter presently. So far as the Greek corresponds with the Aramaic, it was printed in parallel columns with it in the article in the *J.Q.R.* just referred to. These Aramaic and Greek fragments are reprinted with additional notes in Appendix III. of my Text, and likewise another Greek fragment to which there is no corresponding Aramaic. The last appears on pp. 250-252.

There is also a small Syriac fragment of the same work, which was reprinted by Mr. Pass from Wright's British Museum Catalogue. This I have given on p. 254, and by a fresh collation of the MS have corrected the mistake that occurs in the Catalogue and passed from the Catalogue into Mr. Pass's reprint.

*The fragments a source of the Testaments.*—A short study of the fragments serves to show that they are not derived from the Testaments, but that they are part of a work which formed a common source both of the Testaments and

of the Book of Jubilees. We must now study the relations of the Greek and Aramaic fragments, and, in case we discover that both are versions, determine the original language of the work.

*The Aramaic and Greek fragments are versions of a common original, neither being a translation of the other.*—We shall now study these fragments alike in their relation to each other and to the Testaments. First, then, we shall show that both the Aramaic and the Greek are translations, not originals, but that neither is a translation of the other.

*The Aramaic is a translation and not an original work.*—The first evidence in favour of the Aramaic being a translation is the appearance of a dittograph in ver. 69. The text states twice the reason for which Levi called his son's name Merari. "And I was greatly distressed regarding him (מר לי עלוהי לחדה), because as soon as he was born he died" (מית). This statement is nonsense; for Merari did not die. But the true text—a duplicate one for the most part—immediately follows: "And I was greatly distressed regarding him (הוה מריר לי עלוהי סגיא), because he was like to die" (ימות). The simplest explanation of this dittograph is that we have here two renderings, one incorrect and the other correct, of the same Hebrew original. The difference in the word used for "greatly" (סגיא and לחדה) in the two cases is noteworthy. The second and correct rendering is supported by the Test. of Levi xi. 7: *ἐκάλεσα αὐτὸν* Μεραρεῖ, *ὅ ἐστι πικρία μου ὅτι καί γε αὐτὸς ἀπέθνησκεν* (*was like to die*).

Again, the peculiar style of the Aramaic fragment is against its being an original production, since it embodies Hebrew words, two of these being artificially Aramaised, two or more Syriac words, and words belonging to different types of Aramaic. To the explanation of some of these peculiarities we shall address ourselves later. Finally, we

might draw attention to the non-Aramaic use of דין in ver. 13 in the sense of "privilege" or "right"; for the context shows that דין כהנותא is a rendering of משפט כהנים in Deut. viii. 3.

*The Aramaic is not a translation of the Greek fragment.* —This is at once evident if we compare the Aram. of ver. 22 with the Greek; for where the former has *ἀπὸ σκώληκος καὶ τότε λαβὲ αὐτά· οὕτως γὰρ εἶδον τὸν Ἀβραὰμ τὸν πατέρα μου προσέχοντα*, the Greek has merely *ἀπὸ παντὸς μολυσμοῦ*. In ver. 23 the Greek is again defective, over against a full Aramaic text. Again, the Aramaic in verses 17, 25, 31 could not be derived from the corrupt text of the Greek. Nor could the correct Aram. (= *σὺ γυναῖκα*) in ver. 17 be derived from the impossible Greek *σὺ πρῶτος*: nor in ver. 20, the Aram. (= *πᾶν τοῦτο*) from the Greek *ὁλοκάρπωσιν*: nor in ver. 32, where it = *ταύρῳ βοῶν* and the Greek has *ταύρῳ τῷ δευτέρῳ*. The above instances, which could be multiplied, will suffice. Finally the comparative list of the trees in ver. 24 proves in itself the impossibility of the Greek being the source of the Aramaic.

*The Greek is a translation and not an original work.*— The possibility of the Greek being the original is precluded by the fact that it exhibits several Semitic idioms such as *ὧν ἐστιν ὁ καπνὸς αὐτῶν* (= עשנם . . . אשר), *ἐκκαίειν ἐν αὐτοῖς* (בער בם), *μεγάλη ἀπὸ πάσης σαρκός* (גדולה מכל בשר), *πρόσεχε σεαυτῷ ἀπὸ παντός* (השמר לך מכל). Several of its corrupt or unintelligible passages, moreover, can be explained by retranslation into the Hebrew. See notes on verses 13, 49 (*i.e. κρίσιν*), 17. Likewise the dittograph in ver. 17 (see note 13) points to the Greek being a translation.

*The Greek is not a translation of the Aramaic.*—For in ver. 17, where the Aram. = *γυναῖκα*, the Greek has *πρῶτος*:

in ver. 19, where Aram. = *ἐν οἴκῳ θεοῦ*, the Greek has *ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις*: in 20, where Aram. = *πᾶν τοῦτο*, the Greek has *ὁλοκάρπωσιν*: in 32, where Aram. = *ταύρῳ βοῶν*, the Greek has *ταύρῳ τῷ δευτέρῳ*. Again, in ver. 27, where the Aram. has an unintelligible expression, the Greek has *ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτῆς*. Finally, the list of trees in the Greek (ver. 24) could not be derived from that in the Aramaic. Now that it is clear that the two versions are derived from a Semitic original, we have next to determine of what language this original was. The determination of this question is complicated by the fact, to which we have already drawn attention, namely, the presence in the text of Hebrew words and of Syriac words.[1] There are two Syriac words in the Aramaic, and with these we shall at once deal. These words in question are דפרנא and נשיפא. To the presence of these in the text we drew attention in our article in the *J.Q.R.*, when we summed up in favour of a Hebrew original. First, although דפרנא is a Syriac word, it may likewise have been used in the other Aramaic dialects. However this may be, it is found in the Book of Jubilees xxi. 12—a book universally acknowledged by scholars to have been written in Hebrew. There it appears in the form dêfrân.[2] Its appearance, therefore, in the present text need cause us no further trouble. In verse 4 there is another word which can be best explained from Syriac affinities, but the word itself is not found in

[1] Owing to the presence of the Syriac words in the text, Fraenkel (*Theol. Litteraturzeitung*, 1907, No. 17, col. 475) maintains that the Aramaic is "undoubtedly" a translation from the Syriac. But the facts adduced above show that the evidence in favour of his contention is extremely weak in comparison with that in favour of a Hebrew original.

[2] On the other hand, it is to be observed that the list of trees in the Greek corresponding to Bodleian col. *c* shows several transliterations of Aramaic names of trees. But this argument is not conclusive. For it would not be unnatural to use, even in a Hebrew document, in the second century B.C., the popular Aramaic names for trees, where a large number is given. Moreover, in certain cases the Hebrew name may either have been forgotten or have become so unfamiliar as to make it advisable to give the ordinary names which those trees bore even amongst the minority who knew Hebrew. Moreover, the rest of the evidence demands some such conclusion.

Syriac. Thus there remains only the one undoubted Syriac word נשיפא. If there was no counterbalancing evidence in favour of a Hebrew original, the presence of this word might form a presumption in favour of a Syriac original, but nothing more. But the evidences in favour of a Hebrew original are very strong. They are as follows:—

(1) *Five Hebrew words are found in the text.*—These are הרת, משפחה, חדשא, פר, רחץ. The third and last words are simply artificially Aramaised Hebrew words. The other three are pure Hebrew. How can the presence of these in the text be explained unless on the hypothesis of a Hebrew original? See, further, Introd. to my Text, § 20.

(2) *A paronomasia which was manifestly intended is discovered by retranslation into Hebrew.*—In ver. 67 Levi calls his second son Kohath, because that "to him would be the gathering of all the people." Here the Aramaic words are כנשת . . . קהת. Now if these are given in Hebrew we have an obvious paronomasia קהלת . . . קהת. To prove that this is no mere imagination, it is only necessary to point to the fact that in the case of Levi's first son Gershom and his third and fourth children Merari and Jochebed, and of Kohath's son Amram (ver. 76), the paronomasiæ are manifest even in the Aramaic translation. But it was impossible to render the play upon Kohath in Aramaic. It is equally impossible in Syriac.

(3) *Divergencies between the two versions, and difficult expressions and corrupt passages, can be explained by retranslation into Hebrew.*—In ver. 32 the Aramaic has פר תורין, whereas the Greek has τῷ ταύρῳ τῷ δευτέρῳ. The former = פר השור (cf. Judg. vi. 26), the latter פר השני. Thus this confusion could easily arise in Hebrew. We have already drawn attention to the peculiar expression in ver. 19, κρίσιν ἱερωσύνης, or דיו כהנותא. Neither κρίσις nor דין can bear here legitimately the meaning the context requires. The

phrase is a rendering of משפט הכהנים (Deut. xviii. 3). It cannot be explained from a Syriac background.

In ver. 17 the corruption in the Greek *σὺ †πρῶτος . . . λαβὲ σεαυτῷ*, where for *πρῶτος* the Aramaic rightly reads *γυναῖκα* (אנתתא), can be explained by retroversion into Hebrew, but not into Syriac. *πρῶτος* = ראשון, a corruption of אשה. In ver. 27 we have the converse corruption, where the Aramaic reads, אשה corrupt for ראשה, *i.e.* רישא = *κεφαλή*. In the same verse we have another passage which cannot be explained except on the hypothesis of a Hebrew original, *μὴ βεβηλώσῃς τὸ σπέρμα σου μετὰ †πολλῶν*, a corruption of *πορνῶν*, as the Aramaic (זניאן) shows. But in Test. Levi ix. 10 we find *ἀλλοφύλων ἐθνῶν*, and this is the sense required by the context, and especially by Jubilees, that the priestly line was not to be defiled by foreign marriages. The text of the Testaments presupposes זרות, which must have been corrupted to זונות or זנות, from which the Aramaic reading is derived. In ver. 37 the corrupt form *ἀποδεδείκτω* comes from *ἀποδείκνυμι* = הורה. Here either the 2nd or 3rd sing. fut. is required, *i.e.* תורה. But this can also mean "cast" or "sprinkle," the meaning the context requires here.

In ver. 20 the Aramaic = *πᾶν τοῦτο* and the Greek reads *ὁλοκάρπωσιν*. Here the latter = עולה, which may have been corrupted into כל זו (where זו is the usual later form of זאת = *πᾶν τοῦτο*.

## § 24. Influence of the Testaments on Jewish Literature

Since Jubilees and the Testaments are sister works written about the same date, and both emanating from the school of the Pharisees, the one cannot be cited as dependent on the other. For a list of the passages which are closely related in them, see Index I. It is doubtful

also whether the Psalms of Solomon stand in the relation of dependence on the Testaments. The undoubted coincidences which exist are to be found almost wholly in the first century B.C. additions to the Testaments.

The parallel passages in the Midrash Wajjissau, Chronicles of Jerachmeel, the Book of Jashar, cannot be treated as derivatives from our text, but rather as sprung from the same ultimate source as their parallels in the Testaments.

On the other hand, certain clauses and phrases in the Talmud are probably to be traced to the Testaments:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Chag. $12^{b}$ | T. Lev. ii. 7-iii. |
| Sebach. $62^{a}$ | „ iii. 5 |
| Shabb. $151^{b}$ | T. Zeb. viii. 3 |
| Berakoth $61^{ab}$ | T. Naph. ii. 8 |
| Yoma $35^{b}$ | T. Jos. i. $6^{d}$ |

The Targum of Ps. Jon. on Genesis particularly shows this influence:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Targum Ps. Jon. on Gen. xxxvii. 19, 20; xlii. 24 | T. Sim. ii. 6, 7 |
| Targum Ps. Jon. on Gen. xxxvii. 28 | T. Zeb. iii. 2 |
| Targum Ps. Jon. on Gen. xxxvii. 30 | „ iv. 5 |

## § 25. Influence of the Testaments on Patristic Literature

The Testaments have not left much trace on Patristic literature. The following writers made use of them:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Hermas, *Mand.* ii. 1. Ἁπλότητα ἔχε καὶ ἄκακος γίνου. | T. Iss. v. 1. Τὴν ἁπλότητα κτήσασθε καὶ ἐν ἀκακίᾳ πορεύεσθε. |
| *Mand.* ii. 2. Μηδενὸς καταλάλει. | T. Iss. iii. 4. Οὐ κατελάλησά τινος πώποτε. |

| | |
|---|---|
| *Mand.* ii. 5. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ λαμβάνοντες θλιβόμενοι; ii. 4, ἐκ τῶν κόπων σου . . . πᾶσιν ὑστερουμένοις δίδου ἁπλῶς. | T. Iss. iii. 8. Πᾶσι γὰρ πένησι καὶ θλιβομένοις παρεῖχον ἐκ τῶν ἀγαθῶν τῆς γῆς ἐν ἁπλότητι καρδίας μου. |

The points of coincidence are too numerous here to be accidental.

| | |
|---|---|
| *Mand.* ii. 6. Ὁ οὖν διδοὺς ἀθῷός ἐστιν . . . μηδὲν διακρίνων τίνι δῷ ἢ μὴ δῷ. | T. Zeb. vii. 2. Ἀδιακριτως πάντας σπλαγχνιζόμενοι ἐλεᾶτε καὶ παρέχετε παντὶ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐν ἀγαθῇ καρδίᾳ (cf. vi. 4). |

Here the same ideas underlie μηδὲν διακρίνων and ἀδιακρίτως. Indiscriminate almsgiving is taught in each passage.

| | |
|---|---|
| *Mand.* ii. 7. Καρδία σου καθαρὰ καὶ ἀμίαντος. | T. Jos. iv. 6. Ἐν καθαρᾷ καρδίᾳ καὶ στόμασιν ἀμιάντοις. |
| *Mand.* vi. 2. 1. Δύο εἰσὶν ἄγγελοι μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, εἷς τῆς δικαιοσύνης καὶ εἷς τῆς πονηρίας. | T. Jud. xx. 1. Δύο πνεύματα σχολάζουσι τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, τὸ τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ τὸ τῆς πλάνης. |
| *Vis.* ix. 2. Τὰ κτίσματα τοῦ θεοῦ . . . μεταδίδοτε καὶ τοῖς ὑστερουμένοις. | T. Iss. vii. 5. Πτωχῷ μετέδωκα ἄρτον μου. |

Irenæus, Fragment xvii. (ed. Stieren, i. 836-837): Ἐξ ὧν ὁ Χριστὸς προετυπώθη καὶ ἐπεγνώσθη καὶ ἐγεννήθη. ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῷ Ἰωσὴφ προετυπώθη· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Λευὶ καὶ τοῦ Ἰούδα τὸ κατὰ σάρκα ὡς βασιλεὺς καὶ ἱερεύς, ἐγεννήθη. The genuineness of this fragment has been called in question by Harnack (*Gesch. d. altchristl. Litteratur*, II. i. 521, 569), but that need not delay us here. The first statement seems to have been suggested by T. Jos. i. 2-4, and possibly

by T. Gad ii. 3 (β), while the descent from Levi and Judah is apparently derived from T. Sim. vii. 1-2.

Origen, *in Josuam homil.* xv. 6 (ed. Lommatzsch, xi. 143). Origen here expressly cites the Testaments. The quotation is given in note on T. Reub. ii. 1.

Tertullian. The passages in *Adv. Marcion,* v. 1, *Scorpiace,* 13, which have been generally traced back to T. Benj. xi., are more probably the source of the interpolation in that Testament. The Armenian version, as we know, has no such statement about St. Paul. Therefore, this addition to β is at the best but a very late interpolation.

Jerome, *Hom. in Pss.* in "Anecdota Maredsol." iii. 3 (ed. by G. Morin, 1903), pp. 22 *sq.* (S. Hieron. *Tract. de Psal.* xv.): "In libro quoque Patriarcharum licet inter apocryphos computetur, ita inueni, ut quomodo fel ad iracundiam, sic renes ad calliditatem et ad astutiam sint creati," etc.

*Apostolical Church Order.* Κανόνες ἐκκλησιαστικοὶ τῶν ἁγίων Ἀποστολῶν (ed. Harnack, pp. 225-237). 8. Τὴν ψυχὴν ἐκείνην . . οὐκ ἐᾷ διαβλέψαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ ἰδεῖν τὴν ἀλήθειαν.

T. Dan ii. 3. Τύφλωσις γάρ ἐστιν ὁ θυμὸς καὶ οὐκ ἐᾷ ὁρᾶν πρόσωπόν τινος ἐν ἀληθείᾳ.

The Church canons are here speaking of lust and anger.

Again, Θυμὸς γὰρ καὶ ἡδονὴ . . . ἀπάγουσιν αὐτὸν εἰς ἔργα ἄδικα καὶ ἐπιγελῶσιν αὐτῷ καὶ ἥδονται ἐπὶ τῇ ἀπωλείᾳ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.

T. Reub. iv. 7 (β). Πολλοὺς ἀπώλεσεν ἡ πορνεία· ὅτι κἂν γέρων ᾖ τις . . . ὄνειδος ἑαυτὸν ποιεῖ καὶ γέλωτα παρὰ τῷ Βελίαρ.

Procopius Gazaeus, *Comm. in Gen.* cxxxviii.: "Ille, uxore

defuncta, quaerebat subolem. In testamento, aiunt, attestatur ei Deus, quod diu eam, cum adhuc esset virgo, Judas habuerit luxitque iniquitatem ejus" (quoted from Sinker, p. 4, note). This passage is from Clauser's Latin translation of the Greek text of Procopius, which has not yet been published. The reference may be to T. Jud. xii. 8, xv. 4.

Finally, the Testaments are mentioned amongst the Apocrypha in the Stichometry of Nicephorus, the Synopsis of Athanasius, and in the Anonymous List of Canonical Books published by Montfaucon, Petra, and others. See Schürer, *G.J.V.* iii. 263-264.

## § 26. Influence of the Testaments on the New Testament

*St. Matthew.*—The passages in St. Matthew which show the influence of the Testaments are almost exclusively those which give the sayings and discourses of our Lord. I will therefore take them in the order that will best exhibit this fact.

1. Forgiveness:—

xviii. 15. Ἐὰν δὲ ἁμαρτήσῃ ὁ ἀδελφός σου κατά σου, ὕπαγε ἔλεγξον αὐτὸν μεταξὺ σοῦ καὶ αὐτοῦ μόνον.

T. Gad vi. 3 (β). Ἐάν τις ἁμαρτήσει εἰς σέ εἰπὲ αὐτῷ ἐν εἰρήνῃ . . . καὶ ἐὰν . . . μετανοήσῃ ἄφες αὐτῷ.

vi. 6. Ἡσύχασον μὴ ἐλέγξῃς. . . .

35. Ἐὰν μὴ ἀφῆτε ἕκαστος τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν καρδιῶν ὑμῶν.

v. 7. Ἄφες αὐτῷ ἀπὸ καρδίας.

With the above we must take St. Luke xvii. 3—

Ἐὰν ἁμάρτῃ ὁ ἀδελφός σου ἐπιτίμησον αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐὰν μετανοήσῃ ἄφες αὐτῷ.

That the N.T. passages are here dependent cannot reasonably be denied. See, further, § 27, p. xciii.

2. Duty of loving God and our neighbour :—

St. Matt. xxii. 37-39. Ἀγαπήσεις Κύριον τὸν θεόν σου ἐν ὅλῃ . . . ψυχῇ σου . . . αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ μεγάλη καὶ πρώτη ἐντολή· δευτέρα ὁμοία αὕτη Ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησιόν σου ὡς σεαυτόν.

T. Dan v. 3. Ἀγαπήσατε τὸν Κύριον ἐν πάσῃ τῇ †ζωῇ ὑμῶν καὶ ἀλλήλους ἐν ἀληθινῇ καρδίᾳ.

Our text is thus the first literary authority which conjoins the two great commands of love to God and love to our neighbour.

3. Passages from the Sermon on the Mount :—

v. 28. Πᾶς ὁ βλέπων γυναῖκα πρὸς τὸ ἐπιθυμῆσαι αὐτὴν ἤδη ἐμοίχευσεν αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ.

T. Benj. viii. 2 (β). Ὁ ἔχων διάνοιαν καθαρὰν ἐν ἀγάπῃ οὐχ ὁρᾷ γυναῖκα εἰς πορνείαν.

The two passages deal really with the same subject, *i.e.* that it is the purity or impurity of the mind or heart that counts.

vi. 16. Ἀφανίζουσιν γὰρ τὰ πρόσωπα αὐτῶν ὅπως φανῶσιν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις νηστεύοντες.

T. Zeb. viii. 6 (a). Τοῦτο (*i.e.* κακία πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφόν) . . . τὸ πρόσωπον ἀφανίζει.

T. Jos. iii. 4. Ἐνήστευον . . . καὶ ἐφαινόμην τῷ Αἰγυπτίῳ ὡς ἐν τρωφῇ διάγων.

Here the phrase *ἀφανίζειν τὸ πρόσωπον* is not found elsewhere in this sense.

vi. 22, 23. Ἐὰν οὖν ᾖ ὁ ὀφθαλμός σου ἁπλοῦς . . . ἐὰν δὲ ὁ ὀφθαλμός σου πονηρὸς ᾖ.

T. Iss. iii. 4 (β). Πορευόμενος ἐν ἁπλότητι ὀφθαλμῶν.

iv. 6. Ὀφθαλμοὺς πονηρούς.

In the N.T. here, as in the Testaments, the words *ἁπλότης, ἁπλοῦς*, mean "soundness." See note *in loc.*

v. 42. Τῷ *αἰτοῦντί σε δός.* T. Zeb. vii. 2. *Παρέχετε παντὶ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐν ἀγαθῇ καρδίᾳ.*

vii. 2. *Ἐν ᾧ μέτρῳ μετρεῖτε, μετρηθήσεται ὑμῖν.* T. Zeb. v. 3. *Εἴ τι ἂν ποιήσῃ τῷ πλησίον αὐτοῦ, οὕτω Κύριος ποιήσει μετ' αὐτοῦ.*

v. 19. *Ὃς δ' ἂν ποιήσῃ καὶ διδάξῃ, οὗτος μέγας κληθήσεται ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῶν οὐρανῶν.* T. Lev. xiii. 9. *Πᾶς ὃς ἂν διδάσκει καλὰ καὶ πράττει, σύνθρονος ἔσται βασιλέων.*

4. Other sayings of our Lord:—

xii. 35. *Ὁ πονηρὸς ἄνθρωπος ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ θησαυροῦ ἐκβάλλει πονηρά.* T. Ash. i. 9. *Ὁ θησαυρὸς τοῦ διαβουλίου.*

On these passages see notes on T. Ash. i. 3, 9.

xii. 45. *Ἑπτὰ ἕτερα πνεύματα.* T. Reub. ii. 2.

xix. 28. *Καθήσεσθε καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐπὶ δώδεκα θρόνους κρίνοντες τὰς δώδεκα φυλὰς τοῦ Ἰσραήλ.* T. Jud. xxv. 1, T. Zeb. x. 2, T. Benj. x. 6.

In the Testaments the twelve sons of Jacob are to rise to share in the Messianic kingdom, and each is to be a chief or ruler over his own tribe. In St. Matthew their place is to be taken by the Twelve Apostles.

xix. 29. *Πολλαπλασίονα λήψεται.* T. Zeb. vi. 6 (*b d g*). *Λαμβάνει πολλαπλασίονα.*

This clause is found in analogous contexts in St. Matthew and the Testaments. In the former, whosoever forsakes houses or brethren for Christ's sake shall receive manifold more; in the latter, whosoever shares what he has with his neighbour shall receive manifold more.

xxv. 33,34. Ἐκ δεξιῶν αὐτοῦ. T. Benj. x. 6. Ἀνισταμένους ἐκ δεξιῶν αὐτοῦ.

Here this phrase "on His right hand" appears in the Testaments in its technical sense for the first time in Jewish literature.

xxv. 35, 36. Ἐπείνασα γὰρ καὶ ἐδώκατέ μοι φαγεῖν . . . ἠσθένησα καὶ ἐπεσκέψασθέ με, ἐν φυλακῇ ἤμην καὶ ἤλθατε πρός με.

T. Jos. i. 5, 6. Ἐν λιμῷ συνεσχέθην, καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Κύριος διέθρεψέ με . . . ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ ἤμην καὶ ὁ Κύριος ἐπεσκέψατό με, ἐν φυλακῇ ἤμην καὶ Θεός μου ἐχαρίτωσέ με.

Here the coincidences are too striking to be accidental. The new turn given to these sentences by our Lord is full of significance. It is remarkable that a good parallel to the second is found in Buddhism. "Whosoever, O monks, would wait upon me, let him wait upon the sick" (*Buddhist and Christian Gospels*, p. 105, quoted by Allen on Matt. xxv. 36).

5. Parallels in the narrative portion of St. Matthew:—

xxii. 15. Συμβούλιον ἔλαβον ὅπως αὐτὸν παγιδεύσωσιν ἐν λόγῳ.

T. Jos. vii. 1. Περιεβλέπετο ποίῳ τρόπῳ με παγιδεῦσαι.

The use of this somewhat rare word in like contexts is noteworthy. It is found only here in the N.T. St. Mark xii. 13 uses ἀγρεύσωσιν.

xxvi. 70. Οὐκ οἶδα τί λέγεις.

T. Jos. xiii. 2. Οὐκ οἶδα ὃ λέγεις.

In St. Mark xiv. 68 we have the fuller form οὔτε οἶδα οὔτε ἐπίσταμαι σὺ τί λέγεις.

xxvii. 6. Τιμὴ αἵματος.

T. Zeb. iii. 3. Τιμὴ αἵματος.

In the Testaments this phrase is used of the money got by selling Joseph.

xxvii. 51. Τὸ καταπέτασμα τοῦ ναοῦ ἐσχίσθη.

T. Lev. x. 3. Σχισθήσεται τὸ καταπέτασμα τοῦ ναοῦ (*a*).

This parallel is doubtful, as the text in the Testaments is uncertain.

xxvii. 51. Ἡ γῆ ἐσείσθη, καὶ αἱ πέτραι ἐσχίσθησαν.

T. Lev. iii. 9. Ἡ γῆ καὶ ἡ ἄβυσσος . . . σαλεύονται. iv. 1. πετρῶν σχιζομένων.

The phenomena mentioned in the Testaments prelude the Final Judgment.

St. Luke and the Acts—i. 78. Σπλάγχνα ἐλεους.

T. Zeb. vii. 3, viii. 2. Σπλάγχνα ἐλέους.

This phrase is first found in the Testaments.

ii. 19. Συνετήρει τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα . . . ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτῆς.

T. Lev. vi. 2. Συνετήρουν τοὺς λόγους τούτους ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ μου. Cf. viii. 19. ἔκρυψα καί γε τοῦτο ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ μου.

Here the dependence of Luke on our text seems clear. See note on T. Lev. vi. 2.[1]

ii. 37. Νηστείαις καὶ δεήσεσιν.

T. Jos. iv. 8. Νηστείαν καὶ προσευχήν.

The agreement in this inversion of the usual order of these words is significant.

ii. 52. Χάριτι παρὰ θεῷ καὶ ἀνθρώποις.

T. Reub. iv. 8. Χάριν ἐνώπιον θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων.

The words are used of Joseph in the Testaments.

vi. 10. Ἀπεκατεστάθη ἡ χεὶρ αὐτοῦ.

T. Sim. ii. 13. Ἵνα ἀποκατασταθῇ ἡ χείρ μου.

[1] In Dan. iv. 25, however, where there is no Massoretic text corresponding, the LXX has τοὺς λόγους ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ συνετήρησε.

x. 19, 20. Δέδωκα ὑμῖν τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ πατεῖν . . . ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ ἐχθροῦ . . . πλὴν ἐν τούτῳ μὴ χαίρετε ὅτι τὰ πνεύματα ὑμῖν ὑποτάσσεται.

T. Sim. vi. 6. Τότε δοθήσεται πάντα τὰ πνεύματα τῆς πλάνης εἰς καταπάτησιν καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι βασιλεύσουσιν τῶν πονηρῶν πνευμάτων.

T. Lev. xviii. 12. Δώσει ἐξουσίαν τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτοῦ πατεῖν ἐπὶ τὰ πονηρὰ πνεύματα.

The Testaments seem clearly here to have suggested, or to have been the source of, the N.T. passage.

xii. 45. Ἐὰν δὲ εἴπῃ ὁ δοῦλος ἐκεῖνος ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ Χρονίζει ὁ κύριός μου ἔρχεσθαι, καὶ ἄρξηται . . . ἐσθίειν τε καὶ πίνειν καὶ μεθύσκεσθαι.

T. Jos. iii. 5. Ἐὰν δὲ ἀπεδήμει ὁ κύριός μου οἶνον οὐκ ἔπινον καὶ . . . ἐλάμβανόν μου τὴν τροφήν, καὶ ἐδίδουν αὐτὴν τοῖς πένησιν.

Is the contrasted conduct here a mere coincidence? The unfaithful servant in the Gospel does exactly what Joseph shunned doing.

xv. 17. Εἰς ἑαυτὸν δὲ ἐλθών.

T. Jos. iii. 9. Ἦλθον εἰς ἐμαυτόν.

xvi. 2. Τί τοῦτο ἀκούω περὶ σοῦ;

T. Jos. xiii. 1. Τί τοῦτο ὃ ἀκούω περὶ σοῦ;

Possibly a coincidence; but if so, a remarkable one.

xvii. 3. See on Matt. xviii. 15 above.

T. Gad. vi. 3.

xxii. 27. Ἐγὼ δὲ ἐν μέσῳ ὑμῶν εἰμὶ ὡς ὁ διακονῶν.

T. Jos. xvii. 8. Ἤμην ἐν αὐτοῖς ὡς εἷς τῶν ἐλαχίστων.

xxii. 31. Ὁ Σατανᾶς ἐξῃτή-

T. Benj. iii. 3. Ἐὰν τὰ πνεύ-

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| *σατο ὑμᾶς τοῦ σιτιάσαι ὡς τὸν σῖτον.* | *ματα τοῦ Βελίαρ εἰς πᾶσαν πονηρίαν θλίψεως ἐξαιτήσωνται (β).* |
| xxiv. 32. *Οὐχὶ ἡ καρδία ἡμῶν καιομένη ἦν ;* | T. Naph. vii. 4. *Ἐγὼ δὲ ἐκαιόμην τοῖς σπλάγχνοις.* |
| Acts vii. 10. *Ἐξείλατο αὐτὸν ἐκ πασῶν τῶν θλίψεων αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ χάριν καὶ σοφίαν ἐναντίον Φαραώ.* | T. Reub. iv. 8, 10. *Εὗρεν χάριν ἐνώπιον Θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων . . . ἐρρύσατο αὐτὸν ἀπὸ παντὸς ὁρατοῦ καὶ κεκρυμένου θανάτου.* |

The phrase, "to find favour, etc.," is originally found in 1 Sam. ii. 26; Prov. iii. 4. It is remarkable that it is used in connection with Joseph in Acts as it was previously in T. Reub.

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| vii. 16. | T. Reub. vii. 2. |

The statement here in Acts that the bones of the patriarchs were carried up to Shechem is found first in our text. See note on T. Reub. vii. 2.

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| viii. 23. *Χολὴν πικρίας.* | T. Naph. ii. 8. *Χολὴν πρὸς πικρίαν.* |

There is a paronomasia here if the Greek is retranslated back into Hebrew or Aramaic.

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| xii. 11. *Ἐξαπέστειλεν ὁ Κύριος τὸν ἄγγελον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐξείλατό με ἐκ χειρός . . .* | T. Sim. ii. 8. *Ὁ Θεὸς . . . ἀπέστειλε τὸν ἄγγελον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐρρύσατο αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν μου.* |

Although the words are found originally in Dan iii. 28, yet the addition *ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν*, or *ἐκ χειρός*, is peculiar to the above two passages. Where the Testaments have *ἐρρύσατο*, the LXX of Daniel has *ἔσωσε* and Theodotion *ἐξείλατο*. But if tradition is trustworthy, Theodotion's version was not made till the second century A.D.

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| xiv. 23. Προσευξάμενοι μετὰ νηστειῶν. | T. Benj. i. 4. Προσηύξατο . . . μετὰ νηστείας. |
| St. John i. 9. Τὸ φῶς . . . ὃ φωτίζει πάντα ἄνθρωπον ἐρχόμενον εἰς τὸν κόσμον. | T. Lev. xiv. 4. Τὸ φῶς τοῦ νόμου τὸ δοθὲν εἰς φωτισμὸν παντὸς ἀνθρώπου. |

The dependence of the N.T. here can hardly be questioned. See note on T. Lev. xiv. 4. Schlatter (*Sprache und Heimat des vierten Evangelisten*, p. 18 *sq.*) points out that the phrase πάντα ἄνθρωπον ἐρχόμενον εἰς τὸν κόσμον was a familiar Jewish expression, *i.e.* כל-באי עולם. The Testaments here would = אור התורה הנתן להאיר כל אדם.

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| iii. 19. | T. Naph. ii. 10. See note. |
| v. 41, 44. Δόξαν παρὰ ἀνθρώπων . . . τὴν δόξαν τὴν παρὰ τοῦ μόνου Θεοῦ. | T. Benj. vi. 4. Οὐκ ἐπιδέχεται δόξαν καὶ ἀτιμίαν ἀνθρώπων (β). |
| xv. 26. Τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας. | T. Jud. xx. 1, 5. |

We now pass on to the influence exerted by the Testaments on St. Paul. From the evidence presently to be adduced, it will be clear that St. Paul was thoroughly familiar with the Greek translation of the Testaments, that his Epistles are dependent occasionally both as regards matter and form, or as regards these severally, on the Greek version of the Testaments—and that the version derived from $H^a$, *i.e.* α. In order to prove this statement, I will select two passages which are direct quotations from the Testaments. Afterward the parallels will be dealt with in their order.

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| 1 Thess. ii. 16. Ἔφθασεν δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἡ ὀργὴ (+ τοῦ Θεοῦ, D E F G Itala, Vulg. Goth.) εἰς τέλος. | T. Lev. vi. 11. Ἔφθασε δὲ αὐτοὺς ἡ ὀργὴ τοῦ Θεοῦ εἰς τέλος (α). |

Here β reads Κυρίου for Θεοῦ.

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| Rom. i. 32. Οὐ μόνον αὐτὰ ποιοῦσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ συνευδοκοῦσιν τοῖς πράσσουσιν. | T. Ash. vi. 2. Καὶ πράσσουσι τὸ κακόν, καὶ συνευδοκοῦσι τοῖς πράσσουσιν (*a*). |

This passage is found in *a a d e f*. But since *b g* A omit, we may conclude that *a e f* have here been influenced by *a*, and *d* may be neglected as a conflate MS. Hence the above two passages show that it was the *a* text that was used by St. Paul.

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| Rom. i. 21. Ἐσκοτίσθη ἡ ἀσύνετος αὐτῶν καρδία. | T. Reub. iii. 8. Νεώτερος σκοτίζων τὸν νοῦν αὐτοῦ. |
| ii. 15. Συμμαρτυρούσης αὐτῶν τῆς συνειδήσεως καὶ μεταξὺ ἀλλήλων τῶν λογισμῶν κατηγορούντων. | T. Jud. xx. 5. Τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας κατηγορεῖ πάντων καὶ ἐμπεπύρισται ὁ ἁμαρτωλὸς ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας καρδίας. |
| vi. 1. Ἐπιμένωμεν τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ. | T. Lev. iv. 1. Ἐπιμενοῦσι ταῖς ἀδικίαις. |
| vi. 7. Δεδικαίωται ἀπὸ τῆς ἁμαρτίας. | T. Sim. vi. 1. Δικαιωθῶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἁμαρτίας ὑμῶν. |
| ix. 21. Οὐχ ἔχει ἐξουσίαν ὁ κεραμεὺς τοῦ πηλοῦ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ φυράματος ποιῆσαι. | T. Naph. ii. 2. Οἶδεν ὁ κεραμεὺς τὸ σκεῦος πόσον χωρεῖ καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸ φέρει τὸν πηλόν. |
| xii. 1. Παραστῆσαι τὰ σώματα ὑμῶν θυσίαν . . . τῷ Θεῷ εὐάρεστον, τὴν λογικὴν λατρείαν ὑμῶν. | T. Lev. iii. 6. Προφέροντες τῷ Κυρίῳ ὀσμὴν εὐωδίας λογικὴν . . . θυσίαν. |
| xii. 8. Ὁ μεταδιδοὺς ἐν ἁπλότητι. | T. Iss. iii. 8. Παρεῖχον . . . ἐν ἁπλότητι καρδίας μου. |
| xii. 21. Μὴ νικῶ ὑπὸ τοῦ κακοῦ ἀλλὰ νίκα ἐν τῷ ἀγαθῷ τὸ κακόν. | T. Benj. iv. 3. Οὗτος τὸ ἀγαθὸν ποιῶν νικᾷ τὸ κακόν. |
| xiii. 12. Τὰ ἔργα τοῦ σκότους. | T. Naph. ii. 10. Ἔργα φώτος. |
| xv. 33. Ὁ δὲ Θεὸς τῆς εἰρήνης. | T. Dan. v. 2. |

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| 1 Cor. iv. 4. Οὐδὲν . . . ἐμαυτῷ σύνοιδα,[1] ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν τούτῳ δικαίωμαι. | T. Iss. vii. 1. Οὐκ ἔγνων ἐν ἐμοὶ ἁμαρτίαν. Cf. T. Zeb. i. 4. |
| vii. 5. Μὴ ἀποστερεῖτε ἀλλήλους, εἰ μήτι ἐκ συμφώνου πρὸς καιρὸν ἵνα σχολάσητε τῇ προσευχῇ. | T. Naph. viii. 8. Καιρὸς γὰρ συνουσίας γυναικός, καὶ καιρὸς ἐγκρατείας εἰς προσευχὴν αὐτοῦ. |

These are the only two statements on this subject in Jewish and Christian literature before 60 A.D.

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| xi. 31, 32. Εἰ δὲ ἑαυτοὺς διεκρίνομεν οὐκ ἂν ἐκρινόμεθα· κρινόμενοι δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου παιδευόμεθα, ἵνα μὴ . . . κατακριθῶμεν. | T. Benj. vi. 7. Καθαίρει τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸ μὴ καταγνωσθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὁμοίως καὶ ὑπὸ Θεοῦ. |
| xiii. 5. (Ἡ ἀγάπη) οὐ λογίζεται τὸ κακόν. | T. Zeb. viii. 5. Ἀγαπᾶτε ἀλλήλους καὶ μὴ λογίζεσθε ἕκαστος (+τὴν *b d g*) κακίαν πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ. |

Here surely we have the source of St. Paul's notable words. Love does not enter in a ledger the wrongs done to it.

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| xiii. 6. (Ἡ ἀγάπη) οὐ παροξύνεται. | T. Sim. iv. 8. (Ὁ φθόνος) παροξύνει καὶ εἰς ἔκστασιν ἄγει τὴν διάνοιαν. |
| 2 Cor. vi. 14, 15. Τίς κοινωνία φωτὶ πρὸς σκότος ; τίς δὲ συμφώνησις Χριστοῦ πρὸς Βελίαρ ; | T. Lev. xix. 1. Ἐκλέξασθε ἑαυτοῖς ἢ τὸ φῶς ἢ τὸ σκότος ἢ τὸν νόμον Κυρίου ἢ τὰ ἔργα τοῦ Βελίαρ. |
| vii. 10. Ἡ γὰρ κατὰ Θεὸν λύπη μετάνοιαν εἰς σωτη- | T. Gad v. 7. Ἡ γὰρ κατὰ Θεὸν ἀληθὴς μετάνοια . . . |

[1] The words that follow here may be a condemnation of Issachar's self-complacency. After ἁμαρτίαν *β* adds *εἰς θάνατον*, but this looks like a gloss softening the statement. *a* omits it, also A.

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| *ρίαν ἀμεταμέλητον ἐργάζεται.* | *ὁδηγεῖ τὸ διαβούλιον πρὸς σωτηρίαν.* |
| ix. 7. *Προῄρηται τῇ καρδίᾳ.* | T. Reub. i. 9. *Ἐν προαιρέσει ψυχῆς.* |
| Ephes. i. 5. *Τὴν εὐδοκίαν τοῦ θελήματος αὐτοῦ.* | T. Benj. xi. 2. *Ποιῶν εὐδοκίαν θελήματος αὐτοῦ* (*β*). |
| ii. 2. *Ἄρχοντα τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ ἀέρος.* | T. Benj. iii. 4. *Τοῦ ἀερίου πνεύματος τοῦ Βελίαρ* (*β*). |
| iv. 18. *Ἐσκοτωμένοι τῇ διανοίᾳ.* | T. Reub. iii. 8. *Σκοτίζων τὸν νοῦν.* |
| iv. 25. *Λαλεῖτε ἀλήθειαν ἕκαστος μετὰ τοῦ πλησίον αὐτοῦ.* | T. Reub. vi. 9; T. Dan v. 2. |

The words in Ephesians and in both these Testaments are drawn from Zech. viii. 16. None of the Greek forms in the Testaments agree exactly with the LXX of that passage, nor do any two of the three passages agree exactly with each other. Hence all we can say here is that the occurrence of this quotation twice in the Testaments may have suggested its use to St. Paul.

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| v. 5. *Πλεονέκτης ὅ ἐστιν εἰδωλολάτρης.* | T. Jud. xix. i. See Col. iii. 5. |
| v. 6. *Μηδεὶς ὑμᾶς ἀπατάτω κενοῖς λόγοις.* | T. Naph. iii. 1. *Ἐν λόγοις κενοῖς ἀπατὰν τὰς ψυχὰς ὑμῶν.* |
| v. 8, 9. *Ἦτε γάρ ποτε σκότος, νῦν δὲ φῶς ἐν Κυρίῳ· ὡς τέκνα φωτὸς περιπατεῖτε.* | T. Naph. ii. 10. *Οὐδὲ ἐν σκότει ὄντες δύνασθε ποιεῖν ἔργα φωτός.* |
| v. 18. *Μὴ μεθύσκεσθε οἴνῳ, ἐν ᾧ ἐστὶν ἀσωτία.* | T. Jud. xiv. 1. *Μὴ μεθύσκεσθε οἴνῳ.* |
| | T. Jud. xvi. 1. *Ἔστιν γὰρ ἐν αὐτῷ . . . πνεύματα . . . ἀσωτίας.* |

Phil. ii. 15. Φωστῆρες ἐν κόσμῳ.

T. Lev. xiv. 3. Φωστῆρες τοῦ Ἰσραήλ.

In the Testaments the descendants of Levi are designated the "lights of Israel," in Philippians the Christians are called "lights in the world." Similar developments of Jewish ideas are found elsewhere in the Pauline Epistles.

iii. 19. Ὧν . . . ἡ δόξα ἐν τῇ αἰσχύνῃ αὐτῶν.

T. Jud. xiv. 8. Καυχᾶσθαι τῇ ἀτιμίᾳ.

iv. 4. Χαίρετε . . . πάντοτε.

T. Benj. vi. 4. Χαίρει πρὸς πάντας ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ.

Col. iii. 5. Πλεονεξίαν, ἥτις ἐστὶν εἰδωλολατρία.

T. Jud. xix. 1. Ἡ φιλαργυρία πρὸς εἰδωλολατρείαν ὁδηγεῖ.

These can hardly be coincidences. See note on T. Jud. xix. 1, which deals with a probable paronomasia in the original Hebrew.

1 Tim. i. 13. Ἠλεήθην, ὅτι ἀγνοῶν ἐποίησα ἐν ἀπιστίᾳ.

T. Jud. xix. 3. Ἠλέησέ με ὅτι ἐν ἀγνωσίᾳ τοῦτο ἐποίησα.

ii. 5. Μεσίτης Θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων.

T. Dan vi. 2. Μεσίτης Θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων.

Here the phrase which in the Testaments was applied to Michael is transferred by St. Paul to Christ.

2 Tim. ii. 16. Ἐπὶ πλεῖον γὰρ προκόψουσιν ἀσεβείας.

T. Jud. xxi. 8. Προκόψουσιν ἐπὶ κακῷ ἐν πλεονεξίᾳ.

iv. 8. Ὁ τῆς δικαιοσύνης στέφανος.

T. Lev. viii. 2. Τὸν στεφ. τῆς δικαιοσύνης.

The Testaments give the earliest use of this phrase.

I add here a list of words which are common to the Testaments and the Pauline Epistles but are not found in the rest of the New Testament:—*αἴσθησις, αἰχμαλωτεύω, ἀμετανόητος, ἀπαλλοτριόω, ἁπλότης* (this word is character-

istic of the Testaments and in a secondary degree of the Pauline Epistles), *ἀπόδειξις, ἀρεσκεία, ἄτακτος, ἀτιμία, δειλία, διάγω, διαίρεσις, δικαιοκρισία, ἑκούσιος, ἐκτρέφω, ἐνοικέω, ἑνότης, ἐπακούω, εὐωδία, ἦθος, θάλπω, θήρα, ἵλαρος, ἱλαρότης, καταδουλόω, καταφθείρω, κίνδυνος, κληρόω, κρέας, κρυφῇ, λογισμός, λοίδορος, λύσις, μέθυσος, μολυσμός, μόρφωσις, μόχθος, νοσέω, νουθεσία, ὀδύνη, οἰκεῖος, οἰκέω, ὄλεθρος, ὁρατός, ὄσφρησις, παρεδρεύω, παρεισέρχομαι, πάροινος, πατρικός, πένης, περιεργάζομαι, πιότης, πλάσμα, πλάττειν, πλεονεκτέω, πλουτίζω, προίστημι, προκοπή, προπάτωρ, στερέωμα, στόμαχος, σωφρόνως, σωφροσύνη* (also in Paul's speech in Acts), *ὕμνος, ὕπανδρος, ὑπερεκπερισσοῦ, ὑποτίθημι, φιλαργυρία, φυσιόω, φωτισμός, χρῆσις, ψωμίζω.* A large list might be given of those common to the Testaments and the Lucan writings, Luke and the Acts. Many of the above words are rare.

James i. 2. *Πᾶσαν χαρὰν ἡγήσασθε . . . ὅταν πειρασμοῖς περιπέσητε ποικιλοῖς.*

T. Dan iv. 5. *Ἐὰν δὲ ζημίᾳ ἢ ἀπωλείᾳ τινὶ περιπέσητε . . . μὴ ἐκθροεῖσθε.*

i. 27. *Θρησκεία καθαρὰ καὶ ἀμίαντος.*

T. Jos. iv. 6. *Ἐν καθαρᾷ καρδίᾳ καὶ στόμασιν ἀμιάντοις.*

Both passages relate to the worship of God.

iii. 10. *Ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ στόματος ἐξέρχεται εὐλογία καὶ κατάρα.*

T. Benj. vi. 5. *Ἡ ἀγαθὴ διάνοια οὐκ ἔχει δύο γλώσσας εὐλογίας καὶ κατάρας.*

iv. 7. *Ἀντίστητε τῷ διαβόλῳ, καὶ φεύξεται ἀφ' ὑμῶν.*

T. Naph. viii. 4. *Ἐὰν οὖν καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐργάσησθε τὸ καλόν . . . ὁ διάβολος φεύξεται ἀφ' ὑμῶν.*

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| 1 Peter iii. 3-5. | T. Reub. v. 5. See note. |
| 2 Peter ii. 3. Πλαστοῖς λόγοις. | T. Reub. iii. 5. Πλάττειν λόγους. |
| ii. 4. Εἰς κρίσιν τηρουμένους. | T. Reub. v. 5. Εἰς κόλασιν αἰώνιον τετήρηται. Cf. T. Gad vii. 5. |
| Jude 6. Εἰς κρίσιν . . . τετήρηκεν. | „ „ |
| 7. Ὡς Σόδομα κτλ. | T. Naph. iii. 4. Ὡς Σόδομα κτλ. |

Here the same reference to the unnatural lusts of Sodom occurs in both.

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| 22. Οὓς μὲν ἐλεεῖτε διακρινόμενοι οὓς δὲ ἐν φόβῳ σώζετε ἐκ πυρὸς ἁρπάζοντες (K L P). | T. Zeb. vii. 2. Ἀδιακρίτως πάντας σπλαγχνιζόμενοι ἐλεᾶτε. |

Here St. Jude may be dependent on our text. At all events it suggests an easy emendation of this passage. By inserting μή before διακρινόμενοι then we should have, "On some have mercy without hesitation; others save with fear, plucking them from the fire." [1]

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| Revelation iii. 12. Τῆς καινῆς Ἱερουσαλήμ. | T. Dan v. 12. Τῆς νέας Ἱερουσαλήμ. |

This expression occurs in the Testaments for the first time in Jewish literature.

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| v. 8, viii. 3, 4. | T. Lev. iii. 7. See note. |
| vii. 17. Ὁδηγήσει αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ ζωῆς πηγὰς ὑδάτων. | T. Ash. vi. 6. Εἰσφέρει αὐτὸν εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον. Cf. T. Jud. xxiv. 4. |

[1] The above appears to be the most satisfactory emendation of this unsatisfactory text of Jude. A B ℵ give three clauses here, but the third has probably arisen through a dittography. K L P are more or less supported by C, Clement of Alexandria, Peshitto, Jerome. See Bigg's *Commentary on St. Peter and Jude* for a discussion of this passage.

xi. 19. Ἠνοίγη ὁ ναὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ὁ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ. T. Lev. v. 1. See note.

This heavenly temple is first referred to in the Testaments.

## § 27. Teaching of the Author on Forgiveness, the Two Great Commandments, Universalism, the Messiah, the Resurrection, the Antichrist, and its Influence on the N.T.

This book, with its groundwork from the close of the second century B.C. and its first century B.C. additions, forms a unique contribution to our knowledge of those times. For the sake of brevity and clearness I will treat the subject of this section under various headings.

*Forgiveness.*—We have in our text a passage of truly epoch-making importance. Its importance cannot be grasped until we contrast the teaching of the New Testament with that of the Old on the question of a man's forgiveness of his neighbour. In the New Testament from the first page to the last it is either explicitly stated or implicitly understood that a man can only receive the divine forgiveness on condition that he forgives his neighbour. Indeed, in their essential aspects, these two forgivenesses are seen to be one and the same. But in the Old Testament it is very different. There, indeed, God's forgiveness is granted, without money and without price, to the sinner who truly seeks it. But the penitent in the Old Testament could accept and enjoy the divine pardon, and yet cherish the most bitter feelings towards his own personal enemy. David on his death-bed shows this unforgiving spirit when he charges Solomon not to let Joab's hoar head go down to the grave in peace; and commands him to deal similarly with Shimei, though David had promised to

preserve his life. There is certainly the notable instance of Joseph's forgiveness of his brethren; but this act of grace on Joseph's part does not seem to have impressed later O.T. writers, or led them to urge Joseph's conduct therein as worthy of imitation. There is, of course, the noble passage on the subject of beneficence to one's enemy in Prov. xxv. 21, 22: "If thine enemy be hungry, give him bread to eat; And if he be thirsty, give him water to drink. For thou shalt heap coals of fire upon his head, And the Lord shall reward thee." But to show how far these words are from representing the attitude which the saints should adopt to those who wronged them, we have only to turn back to the preceding chapter (Prov. xxiv. 17, 18), where we receive this remarkable piece of advice, "Rejoice not when thine enemy falleth, And let not thine heart be glad when he is overthrown: Lest the Lord see it, and it displease Him, and He turn away His wrath from him." Moreover, the righteous man can pray for God to make him strong enough to pay out his enemies: "Do thou, O Lord, have mercy upon me, and raise me up, that I may requite them" (Ps. xli. 10). Thus we may conclude on the whole that in the Old Testament the saint as well as the sinner could indulge in resentful feelings or even in personal vengeance.

Now that we have grasped the conflicting attitudes of the Old and New Testaments on this great moral and religious question, we are able to appreciate the value of the contribution which the Testaments make in this direction. This contribution is found in T. Gad vi. 3-7 (see also § 26, p. lxxviii). These verses, as I have said in my notes *in loc.*, contain the most remarkable statement on the subject of forgiveness in all ancient literature. They show a wonderful insight into the true psychology of the question. So perfect are the parallels in thought and diction between

these verses and Luke xvii. 3, Matt. xviii. 15, 35, that we must assume our Lord's acquaintance with them. The meaning of forgiveness in both cases is the highest and noblest known to us, namely, the restoring the offender to communion with us, which he had forfeited through his offence. And this is likewise the essence of the divine forgiveness—God's restoration of the sinner to communion with Him, a communion from which his sin had banished him. But, though such is the meaning of forgiveness in the full sense of the word, our author is aware that it is often impossible to attain to such a perfect relation with the offender. Thus forgiveness comes often to be synonymous with banishing the personal feeling of resentment which arises within us when we suffer a wrong, and which, if indulged, leads to hate. When we have achieved this right attitude towards the offender the way is always open for his return to a right relation with us, and so far as we do so we reflect the attitude of God Himself to His erring children.

For the further prosecution of the parallels the reader should consult p. 156. We now see the importance of our text. It shows that pre-Christian Judaism possessed a noble system of ethics on the subject of forgiveness. By the early school of the Chasidim, or the pious ones of the Psalms, the best elements of the Old Testament had been taken up, studied and developed, and the highly ethical code of conduct deduced therefrom had been carried out in actual life by these ancient Quietists. But when Pharisaism, breaking with the ancient ideals of its party, committed itself to political interests and movements, and concurrently therewith surrendered itself more and more wholly to the study of the letter of the Law, it soon ceased to offer scope for the further development of such a lofty system of ethics as the Testaments attest, and so the true

successors of the early Chasids and their teaching quitted Judaism and found their natural home in the bosom of primitive Christianity.

*Duty of loving God and one's neighbour.*—It is remarkable that the famous command in the Gospels that embodies all duty in itself—"Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart . . . Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself" (Mk. xii. 30, 31)—is already found in the Testaments, though less emphatically and vigorously stated. Thus in T. Iss. v. 2 we have, "Love the Lord and your neighbour"; T. Dan v. 3, "Love the Lord through all your life, And one another with a true heart"; and again in T. Iss. vii. 6, Issachar declares, "I loved the Lord; Likewise also every man with all my heart" (*a*).

We are here presented with an interesting literary question. Matthew (xxii. 37, 39) and Mark (xii. 30, 31) represent the enunciation of these two great commandments as coming from our Lord, whereas Luke (x. 25-27) represents them as the utterance of a scribe. Some exegetes are for assigning the statements to two different occasions and persons. Allen (*Matthew*, p. 241) offers several possible explanations. Whatever the true solution of the difficulty may be, that the two great commandments were already conjoined in the teaching of the Scribes at the time of our Lord, we may reasonably infer from our text, which was written 140 years earlier, and from the account in Luke.

*Various ethical teachings.*—The Testaments deal largely with the questions of hatred, lying, envy, hate, lust, covetousness, and the virtues of long-suffering, truthfulness, love, purity, generosity, and the like. We can touch here only on a few of their pithy sayings on such subjects. Thus: "Anger is blindness, and does not suffer one to see the face of any man with truth" (T. Dan ii. 2). "Hatred,

therefore, is evil; for it constantly mateth with lying" (T. Gad v. 1). "Envy dominates the whole mind of man" (T. Sim. iii. 2): it has no rest while the object of it prospers (iii. 3). "Deliverance therefrom cometh through the fear of God" (iii. 4). Wherefore "If a man prospereth more than you, do not be vexed, but pray for him that he may have perfect prosperity" (T. Gad vii. 1). When envy goes a man's mind is lightened, so that he can enjoy the well-being of his former rival (T. Sim. iii. 5, 6). A man is "not to keep a ledger account of the evil done him" by his neighbour (T. Zeb. viii. 5)—a clause that St. Paul borrows in 1 Cor. xiii. 5, where λογίζεται τὸ κακόν is wrongly rendered in the A.V. by "thinketh no evil," and misleadingly in the R.V. by "taketh not account of evil."

As regards the questions of temperance and total abstinence, what better advice could be given than that of this old writer: "If ye drink wine with gladness, be ye modest with the fear of God. For if in your gladness the fear of God departeth, then drunkenness ariseth and shamelessness stealeth in. But if you would live soberly do not touch wine at all, lest ye sin in words of outrage . . . and perish before your time" (T. Jud. xvi. 2-3). "Be not drunk with wine; for wine turneth away the mind from truth and inspireth the passion of lust . . . and if the occasion of the lust be present, he worketh the sin and is not ashamed" (T. Jud. xiv. 1-3).

*Universalism.*—Although the Testaments were written about the same date as the Book of Jubilees and both books were the work of Pharisees, the views of the two authors were widely sundered on some of the greatest questions, and particularly on that of the destiny of the Gentiles. The author of Jubilees taught that there was no hope for the Gentiles: God had placed them under angelic guardians with the object of compassing their destruction (xv. 31)

Moreover, the Jew who intermarried with them should be put to death, and the man who gave his daughter in marriage to a Gentile should be stoned with stones (xxx. 7-17). How different the spirit of the author of the Testaments. A true son of the larger-hearted O.T. prophets, he proclaims the salvation of the Gentiles. The promised time has come. The kingdom is already established, and all the Gentiles will be saved through Israel. In the Judgment the conduct of the best heathen will form the norm according to which Israel shall be judged. The teachings of the author on this question will be found in the note on pp. 210-211, 214.

The first century B.C. additions are likewise characterised by the same Universalism. The Law was given to lighten every man, and the Gentiles were to be saved through the example and teaching of Israel (T. Lev. xiv. 4). The same view of the destiny of the Gentiles is found in the Pss. of Solomon (xvii. 32), though it is perhaps not as favourable as that in these additions. In other literature of the first century B.C. a harsher fate is predicted for the Gentiles, as in the 1 Enoch xxxvii.–lxxi. and the Assumption of Moses, and in 4 Ezra in the next century.

*The Messiah.*—In the original work the Messiah is to be descended from Levi, and not from Judah—in other words, he is to be first of all a priest, and then a prophet and king. There are many passages expressing this view: T. Reub. vi. 7-12; T. Lev. viii. 14, xviii.; T. Jud. xxiv. 1-3; T. Dan v. 10, 11; T. Jos. xix. 5-9. We have here the attestation of a most remarkable revolution in the Jewish expectations of the Messiah. For some thirty or forty years the hopes of a Messiah from Judah was abandoned in favour of a Messiah from Levi. But with the breach of Hyrcanus with the Pharisees this hope was abandoned, and so we find that in the first century addi-

tions the hope of a Messiah from Judah reappears (T. Jud. xxiv. 5-6; T. Naph. iv. 5 (?)).

The prerogatives and powers ascribed to the priestly Messiah from Levi are very lofty. He was to be free from sin (T. Jud. xxiv. 1); to walk in meekness and righteousness (T. Jud. xxiv. 1); to establish a new priesthood under a new name (T. Lev. viii. 14), and also be a mediator for the Gentiles (T. Lev. viii. 14 emended); likewise he was to be a prophet of the Most High (T. Lev. viii. 15); to be a king over all the nation (T. Reub. vi. 11, 12; T. Lev. viii. 14); to war against Israel's national enemies and against Beliar and the powers of wickedness (T. Reub. vi. 12; T. Lev. xviii. 12; T. Dan v. 10), and deliver the captives taken by him, even the souls of the saints[1] (T. Dan v. 11); to open Paradise to the righteous (T. Lev. xviii. 10; T. Dan v. 12), and give the saints to eat of the tree of life (T. Lev. xviii. 11). Moreover, he should give the faithful power to tread upon evil spirits and bind Beliar (xviii. 12), who should be cast into the fire (T. Jud. xxv. 3), and sin should come to an end (T. Lev. xviii. 9).

It was the priestly character of the Maccabean priest-kings that gave rise to the expectation that the Messiah was also to be a priest as well as a king.

*The Resurrection.*—There is to be a resurrection, first of the O.T. heroes and patriarchs, and next of the righteous on the right hand and of the wicked on the left (T. Benj. x. 6-8). The scene of the future kingdom is to be the present earth. It is to last for ever.

*Demonology.*—The book represents a very developed demonology, as a reference to "Spirits" in Index II. will

[1] This idea seems to have originated from Ps. xcvii. 10, "He preserveth the souls of the saints: He delivereth them out of the hand of the wicked." Here the LXX and the Vulgate read: "He delivereth them (the souls of the saints) out of the hand of the wicked one" (רשע). Hence it is not necessary to bracket the words "souls of the saints" in T. Dan v. 11.

show. The conception of Beliar in the Testaments is very advanced for this early date.

*The Antichrist.*—In the first century addition, T. Dan v. 6, we have the most ancient authority at present known to us for the view which connects the tribe of Dan with the Antichrist, and helps to explain the exclusion of this tribe from the list of the Twelve in the N.T. Apocalypse.

*The Two Ways.*—We find in T. Ash. i. 3 *sqq.* the earliest occurrence of this phrase in Jewish literature. See note *in loc.*

## BRACKETS AND ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS EDITION

H denotes the lost Hebrew original, of which, however, small fragments have been preserved.

$H^{\alpha}$ denotes the first Hebrew recension.

$H^{\beta}$ denotes the second Hebrew recension.

$\alpha$ denotes the Greek translation of $H^{\alpha}$ and is represented in the Greek MSS by *c h i*.

$\beta$ denotes the Greek translation of $H^{\beta}$ and is represented by the Greek MSS *a b d e f g*.

*a b c d e f g h i* denote the nine Greek MSS of the Testaments.

A denotes the Armenian version.

$A^{\alpha}$ denotes the first recension of the Armenian version and is represented by the Armenian MSS $A^{abh}$.

$A^{\beta}$ denotes the second recension of the Armenian version and is represented by the Armenian MSS $A^{b*cdefg}$.

$A^{abcdefgh}$ denotes the Armenian MSS.

$S^{1}$ denotes the first Slavonic recension.

$S^{2}$ denotes the second Slavonic recension.

hmt = homoioteleuton.

1 En. = the Ethiopic Enoch.

2 En. = the Slavonic Enoch.

⌜ ⌝. The use of these brackets in the text means that the words so enclosed are not found in A.

( ). Words so enclosed are supplied by the Editor.

† †. Words so enclosed are corrupt.

[ ]. Words so enclosed are interpolated.

# THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

## THE TESTAMENT OF REUBEN, THE FIRST-BORN SON OF JACOB AND LEAH

I. THE copy of the Testament of Reuben, even the commands which he gave his sons ⌈before he died in the hundred and twenty-fifth year of his life⌉. 2. Two years after the death of Joseph ⌈his brother⌉, when Reuben fell ill, his sons and his sons' sons were gathered together to visit him. 3. And he said to them: My children, behold I am dying, and go the way of my fathers. 4. And seeing

TITLE. So *h i*. *c* is corrupt. *g* $A^c$ read "Testament of Reuben"; *b e f* "Testament of Reuben regarding thoughts (+Reuben the first-born of Jacob and Leah *e*, +Reuben is being interpreted 'spirit of God' *f*)." $A^{a e f g}$ "the Book of the Chronicles, the words of Reuben, First ($A^a$ om.) Testament"; $A^b$ "Testament and words of Reuben from the Book of the Chronicles."

*Hundred and twenty fifth-year.* This agrees with the statement in the Midrash Tadshe (viii. Eppstein's edition) which is based on Jubilees and the Testaments: The years of Rebecca were 133, of Rachel 36, of Leah 46. Reuben was born on the 14th of the 9th month, and died 125 years old. Simeon was born on the 21st of the 10th month, and died at the age of 120. Levi was born on the 1st of the 1st month, and died at the age of 137. Dan was born on the 6th of the 9th month, and died at the age of 125; Judah on the 15th of the 3rd, and died 119 (?); Naphtali on 5th of 3rd, and died aged 133; Gad on the 10th of 7th, and died 125; Issachar on 4th of 5th, and died 122; Asher on 2nd of . . ., and died 123; Joseph on the 1st of 7th, and died 110.

2. *Two years after the death of Joseph.* According to Jub. xxviii. 11, 24, Reuben was born in the year 2122 A.M. and Joseph in the year 2135 (see my note *in loc.*). As Joseph lived 110 years and Reuben 125, the latter thus survived Joseph by two years.

On the peculiar form of the Greek μετὰ δύο ἔτη τῆς τελευτῆς, cf. Zeb. i. 1.

*His brother.* So *a d*, but *β-d* A S om.

3. *Go the way of my fathers.* Cf. Josh. xxiii. 14 "Go the way of all the earth." 1 Kings ii. 2, etc.

[there] Judah, and Gad and Asher, his brethren, he said to them: Raise me up, that I may tell to my brethren and to my children what things I have hidden in my heart, for behold now at length I am passing away. 5. And he arose and kissed them, and said unto them: Hear, my brethren, and do ye, my children, give ear to Reuben your father, in the commands which I give you. 6. And behold I call to witness against you this day the God of heaven, that ye walk not in the ignorance of youth and fornication, wherein I was poured out, and defiled the bed of my father Jacob. 7. And I tell you that He smote me with a sore plague in my loins for seven months; and had not my father Jacob prayed for me to the Lord, the Lord would have destroyed me. 8. For I was thirty years old when I wrought the evil thing before the Lord, and for seven months I was sick unto death. 9. And after this I

4. *Raise me up.* $\beta$-*d g* A $S^1$ add "my (*f* A $S^1$ om.) brethren."

5. *What things I have . . . in my heart.* Cf. Sim. ii. 1.

*For behold now I am at length passing away.* Here "now at length" is a rendering of *ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν* = (so LXX in Gen. xlvi. 30) הַפָּעַם. Thus the clause is closely akin to Gen. xlvi. 30 אמותא הפעם. For other instances of the Hebrew word in this sense, cf. Gen. ii. 23, xxix. 34 (see Oxford *Heb. Lex. in loc.*).

*Said unto them.* So $\alpha$, but $\beta$-*d* A S read "weeping said."

*Hear, my brethren, and do ye, my children, give ear,* etc. So $\alpha$ A $^c$ $S^1$. Cf. T. Jos. i. 2. $\beta$-*d g* $A^{deg}$ read "hear, my brethren, and give ear"; *d* $A^{ab}$ "hear, my (*d* om.) children, and give ear." The last reading is paralleled by T. Sim. ii. 1; T. Zeb. i. 2; T. Dan i. 2; T. Napth. i. 5; but the present context supports the reading adopted, as is clear from ver. 4.

6. *I call to witness against you this day the God of heaven that ye walk not.* In my text I have suggested that *ἐπιμαρτύρομαι ὑμῖν* = הָעִידֹתִי בָכֶם (cf. Deut. iv. 26) and that this in turn is corrupt for הִשְׁבַּעְתִּיכֶם = *ὁρκῶ ὑμᾶς*, as in iv. 9. Thus we arrive at a good text: "I adjure you this day by the God," etc. *μαρτύρομαι* might have stood in the text as meaning "I adjure." Cf. Eph. iv. 17; 1 Thess. ii. 12; though even here this sense is not beyond question. Or *διαμαρτύρομαι.* Cf. Exod. xix. 21; Neh. ix. 26; 1 Tim. v. 21; 2 Tim. ii. 14.

*I was poured out.* *ἐξεχύθην* is here used classically. Cf. Pindar, *Isth.* i. 4; Luc. *Sacrif.* 5 *κεχυμένος ἐς τἀφροδίσια.*

7. *And.* So $\alpha$. $\beta$ read "for."

Our author frequently dwells on the efficacy of prayer. Thus, as above, Jacob prays for Judah, T. Jud. xix. 2; for Gad, T. Gad v. 9; for his ten eldest sons, T. Benj. iii. 6. Levi prays for his brethren, T. Naph. vi. 7; Simeon's mother, Simeon, and Joseph on their own behalf, T. Sim. ii. 2, 13; T. Jos. iii. 3, vii. 4, viii. 1. The righteous man prays when betrayed, T. Benj. v. 5. Fasting, moreover, often accompanies prayer, T. Jos. iii. 3, iv. 8, x. 1, 2; T. Benj. i. 4. See further note on i. 10.

8. *Thirty years old.* According to Jub. xxviii. 11, xxxiii. 1-5, Reuben was only twenty-one years old.

repented with set purpose of my soul for seven years before the Lord. 10. And wine and strong drink I drank not, and flesh entered not into my mouth, and I eat no pleasant food; but I mourned over my sin, for it was great, such as had not been in Israel.

II. And now hear me, my children, what things I saw concerning the seven spirits of deceit, when I repented.

10. *Eat no pleasant food.* Cf. Dan x. 3. As Reuben fasts partially for seven years, Simeon does likewise for two, T. Sim. iii. 4, and Judah until old age, T. Jud. xv. 4, xix. 2, in expiation of their sins. Joseph fasts seven years in order the better to withstand Potiphar's wife, T. Jos. iii. 4. Issachar abstains from wine all his life, T. Iss. vii. 3. The righteous man combines fasting and chastity, T. Jos. ix. 2; just as a double-hearted man superstitiously combines fasting and adultery, T. Ash. ii. 8, iv. 3. For "eat" (*c* A), *hβ* S read "tasted."

*Such as has not been in Israel.* So *c* and practically A. *h* is corrupt. *β-g* S read "And it shall not be so in Israel." Cf. 2 Sam. xiii. 12.

II. 1. *Seven spirits of deceit.* This passage is referred to by Origen (*Hom.* in *Josuam* 15$^{b}$, ed. Lommatzsch xi. 143: "In aliquo quodam libello qui appellatur testamentum duodecim patriarcharum, quamvis non habeatur in canone, talem tamen quendam sensum invenimus quod per singulos peccantes singuli satanae intelligi debeant. In Matt. xii. 45, seven evil spirits are referred to.

*Spirits of deceit.* There is a vast demonology in the Testaments. Their chief is variously called Beliar, T. Lev. iii. 3, xviii. 12, xix. 1; T. Jud. xxv. 3; T. Iss. vi. 1; T. Dan iv. 7, v. 1, 10, etc.; Satan, T. Dan v. 6; T. Ash. vi. 4; the Devil, T. Naph. viii. 4; the Prince of Deceit, T. Sim. ii. 7; T. Jud. xix. 4; or the Prince of Dan, T. Dan v. 6. The works of Beliar are opposed to the law of the Lord, T. Lev. xix. 1; T. Iss. vi. 1. Beliar rules over souls that are constantly disturbed, T. Dan. iv. 7, or which yield to their evil inclination, T. Ash. i. 8, and is pleased with double-faced men, T. Ash. iii. 2. But from the righteous and those who keep the law he flees, T. Dan v. 1; T. Naph. viii. 4. The Messiah will make war on Beliar and take from him the captive souls, T. Dan v. 10; and Beliar will be bound, T. Lev. xviii. 12, and cast into the fire, T. Jud. xxv. 3. It is very difficult to make any proper classification of the various wicked spirits. Their most common designation is spirits of deceit, T. Reub. ii. 1, 2; T. Sim. iii. 1, *passim.* They are also called wicked spirits, T. Sim. iv. 9; spirits of Beliar, T. Iss. vii. 7, etc.; unclean spirits, T. Benj. v. 2; angels of Satan, T. Ash. vi. 4. As regards their functions, these are, as in 1 and 2 Enoch and the N.T., threefold: to tempt men, to accuse them when they fall, and to torment them. Our book is mainly concerned with the first division; it deals but briefly with the third, and hardly more than implies the second. We shall devote our attention therefore to the first division, only first observing that our author refers in two passages to the evil angels as angels of punishment. In T. Lev. iii. 2 there are said to be spirits of retribution for vengeance on lawless men, and in T. Ash. vi. 5 it is stated that the evil spirit which a man serves waits for his soul as it leaves the body at death in order to torment it.

Of the spirits that tempt men there are the seven spirits of deceit which lie in wait for youth, T. Reub. ii. 1-2. These are the spirits of fornication (cf. also T. Jud. xiii. 3), insatiableness, fighting, obsequiousness, pride, lying, injustice, T. Reub. iii. 3-6. T. Jud. xvi. 1 gives a further list of four—the spirits of lust, hot desire, profligacy,

2. Seven spirits therefore are appointed against man, and they are the leaders in the works of youth.

3. [And seven other spirits are given to him at his

and filthy lucre. We find also the spirits of jealousy, T. Jud. xiii. 3; and of envy, T. Sim. iii. 1, iv. 7, which are declared to be wicked and poisonous spirits, T. Sim. iv. 9; the spirits of anger, T. Dan ii. 4. There are also angels which stir men to murder, T. Dan i. 7; and idolatry, T. Naph. iii. 3; and lust, T. Jos. vii. 4. The particular tasks to which these spirits address themselves are manifest from their general description. The faithless and the wicked fall an easy prey to these spirits. But these spirits first have to get permission to tempt men, T. Benj. iii. 3. If men yield, then the devil makes them into his own instruments, T. Naph. viii. 6; but if men are single-hearted and do that which is right, then the spirits of deceit and of Beliar have no power over them, T. Iss. iv. 4; T. Benj. iii. 3; and the devil and the spirits of Beliar and unclean spirits flee from them, T. Naph. viii. 4, T. Iss. vii. 7, T. Benj. v. 2. Nay more the righteous rule over them, T. Sim. vi. 6; and tread them under foot, T. Sim. vi. 6, T. Lev. xviii. 12, T. Zeb. ix. 8 (*b d g*). On the day of judgment these spirits are punished, T. Lev. iii. 3.

*Against man.* β A S add "by Beliar."

*Leaders in the works.* β-*f g* A$^{a}$ S read "leader." The singular may be right. Further, since κεφαλή=ראש, the latter may here mean "poison." This would accord well with iii. 8, which states that "every young man perishes" owing to these evil spirits.

II. 2. *Therefore* (α). A reads "for," β omits.

II. 3-III. 2. This section is certainly a late addition to the text. This addition was made first in Greek. Its subject-matter, however, is derived from Greek and Semitic sources, mainly from the former. The grounds for this conclusion are as follows. 1. In ii. 1, 2, an account of the seven spirits of error is promised, but this section about the seven bodily senses suddenly intervenes between the promise and its fulfilment in iii. 3-7. 2. Whereas the account of the seven evil spirits belongs organically to the text, the intruding section has no connection with it before or after. 3. But it is more important still to observe that the division of the bodily senses here adopted is borrowed in a slightly modified form from the Stoics. This is obvious, first, from the peculiar meaning attached to *πνεύματα*, *i.e.* that of senses, organs, or appetites. This use of *πνεῦμα* is peculiar, so far as I am aware, to the Stoics. רוח is never used in this sense. Where the Greek translator of the Testaments refers elsewhere to the senses, he uses the usual word *αἰσθήσεις* (iii. 3, vi. 1; T. Napt. ii. 8, where the *five* senses are mentioned). The soul, as the Stoics generally taught, was divided into eight parts, consisting of the five senses, the power of reproduction, the power of speech, and the dominant part or the reason. The seven former were subordinate to the reason, and discharged themselves into the various parts of the body in the form of immaterial currents (*πνεύματα*). The chief authority on the teaching of the Stoics is Plutarch, *De Plac.* iv. 21 *ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ ἑπτὰ μέρη εἰσὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐκπεφυκότα καὶ ἐκτεινόμενα εἰς τὸ σῶμα, καθάπερ αἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ πολύποδος πλεκτάναι· τῶν δὲ ἑπτὰ μερῶν τῆς ψυχῆς πέντε μέν εἰσι τὰ αἰσθητήρια, ὅρασις, ὄσφρησις, ἀκοή, γεῦσις καὶ ἁφή· ὧν ἡ μὲν ὅρασίς ἐστι πνεῦμα διατεῖνον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ μέχρις ὀφθαλμῶν· ἀκοὴ δέ, πνεῦμα διατεῖνον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ μέχρις ὤτων· ὄσφρησις δὲ πνεῦμα διατεῖνον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ μέχρι μυκτήρων· γεῦσις δὲ πνεῦμα διατεῖνον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ μέχρις γλώττης· ἁφὴ δέ, πνεῦμα διατεῖνον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ μέχρις ἐπιφανείας εἰς θίξιν εὐαίσθητον προπιπτόντων· τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν τὸ μὲν λέγεται σπέρμα, ὅπερ καὶ αὐτὸ πνεῦμά ἐστι διατεῖνον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ μέχρι τῶν παραστατῶν· τὸ δὲ φωνᾶεν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ζήνωνος εἰρημένον, ὃ καὶ φωνὴν καλοῦσι, ἔστι πνεῦμα διατεῖνον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ μέχρι φάρυγγος καὶ γλώττης καὶ τῶν οἰκείων ὀργάνων.* Again, in iv. 4, 2, we find a similar account: *οἱ*

creation, that through them should be done every work of man. 4. The first is the spirit of life, with which the constitution (of man) is created. The second is the sense

*Στωικοὶ ἐξ ὀκτὼ μερῶν φασὶ (τὴν ψυχὴν) συνεστάναι, πέντε μὲν τῶν αἰσθητικῶν ὁρατικοῦ ἀκουστικοῦ ὀσφρητικοῦ γευστικοῦ ἁπτικτοῦ ἕκτου δὲ φωνητικοῦ, ἑβδόμου σπερματικοῦ, ὀγδόου αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ, ἀφ' οὗ ταῦτα πάντα ἐπιτέταται διὰ τῶν οἰκείων ὀργάνων προσφερῶς ταῖς τοῦ πολύποδος πλεκτάναις.* Cf. also Galen iii. 1, 287; Zeller, *Stoics* 214-215 (Eng. Trans.). The earliest adoption of this doctrine by Judaism is found in Philo, *De Mundi Op.* xl. *Αὐτίκα τῆς ἠμετέρας ψυχῆς τὸ δίχα τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ μέρος ἑπταχῇ σχίζεται, εἰς πέντε αἰσθήσεις καὶ τὸ φωνητήριον ὄργανον καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσι τὸ γόνιμον.* Some reminiscence of the same division appears in Slav. Enoch xxx. 9 (see my note). In Sir. xvii. 6-7 we have the following Hebrew division of man's powers: 6. *διαβούλιον καὶ γλῶσσαν καὶ ὀφθαλμούς ὦτα καὶ καρδίαν ἔδωκε διανοεῖσθαι αὐτοῖς*, 7. *ἐπιστήμην συνέσεως.*

As a parallel interpolation to that in our text, we shall quote the addition that is made regarding the Stoic division of the senses in MS. 248 of Sirach after xvii. 4—that is just before the words quoted above: *ἐν ὁμοιώματι ἔλαβον χρῆσιν τῶν πέντε τοῦ κυρίου ἐνεργημάτων, ἕκτον δὲ νοῦν αὐτοῖς ἐδωρήσατο μερίζων, καὶ ἑβδομον λόγον ἑρμηνέα τῶν ἐνεργημάτων αὐτοῦ.* Here the interpolator has omitted *τὸ σπερματικόν* and given *νοῦς* as the equivalent of *τὸ ἡγεμονικόν.*

3. *Seven other spirits* (*πνεύματα*). For "other," which *α* reads and *β* S omit, A gives "again." As we have shown in the preceding note the word "spirits" here is employed in the Stoic use of the term. This use is unknown to the LXX, NT, and Philo, and, so far as I am aware, was confined, even among philosophers, to the Stoics. Further, since רוח (=*πνεῦμα*) was not used in this sense either in Classical or Rabbinic Hebrew, we reasonably conclude that this section was first incorporated in the Greek version of our book.

As regards the number *seven*, the list in our text presents a modified form of the Stoic division. According to the Stoics (see note on p. 4), the bodily senses were *ὅρασις, ὄσφρησις, ἀκοή, γεῦσις, ἁφή, τὸ φωνητικόν, τὸ σπερμαπικόν.* And all these were subordinate to an eighth power, *τὸ ἡγεμονικόν.* Now, first of all, our text omits the fifth sense, *ἁφή*, and instead of (?) *τὸ ἡγεμονικόν* gives *πνεῦμα ζωῆς.* Thus the modified list runs: *ζωή, ὅρασις, ἀκοή, ὄσφρησις, λαλία, γεῦσις, σπορά.*

With the seven organs, etc., enumerated here we might compare the twelve given in the Sepher Yezirah v. i: יסורן שיחה הרהו הלוך ראיא שמיעה מעשה תשמיש ריח שינה רוגז לעיטה שחוק="the powers of speaking, thinking, walking, seeing, hearing, working, coition, smelling, sleep, anger, swallowing, laughing.

*Spirit of life.* Here alone in this section is *πνεῦμα* used in its ordinary sense. The phrase is biblical: cf. Gen. vi. 17, vii. 15. It is not quite clear what the interpolator meant. Possibly he uses the phrase in the same sense as in Gen. vi. 17 or in ii. 7 (though here the Hebrew is slightly different). If so, the spirit of life, which is common to man and the brute creation, is life in an impersonal sense, and cannot in this sense be the bearer of the personality. But more probably we should identify the "spirit of life" with the soul or spirit of man, the power which gives vitality and unity to the material organism. In this sense "spirit of life" would correspond in part to the Stoic conception of the *ψυχή* and in part to their *τὸ ἡγεμονικόν* or dominant faculty of reason. See next note.

*With which the constitution* (*of man*) *is created* (*μεθ' ἧς ἡ σύστασις κτίζεται*). These words appear to refer either to the simple fact of man's creation, or (if we take "spirit of life" as the practical equivalent of the *ψυχή* and *τὸ ἡγεμονικόν* in Stoic teaching), to that fact combined with the constitution of man's powers as a unity under the "spirit of life."

*Sense.* In text, *πνεῦμα.*

of sight, with which ariseth desire. 5. The third is the sense of hearing, with which cometh teaching. The fourth is the sense of smell, with which tastes are given to draw air and breath. 6. The fifth is the power of speech, with which cometh knowledge. 7. The sixth is the sense of taste, with which cometh the eating of meats and drinks; and by it strength is produced, for in food is the foundation of strength. 8. The seventh is the power of procreation and sexual intercourse, with which through love of pleasure sins enter in. 9. Wherefore it is the last in order of creation, and the first in that of youth, because it is filled with ignorance, and leadeth the youth as a blind man to a pit, and as a beast to a precipice.

III. Besides all these there is an eighth spirit of sleep, with which is brought about the trance of nature and the image of death. 2. With these spirits are mingled the spirits of error.]

3. First, the spirit of fornication is seated in the nature

*Sight . . . with which ariseth desire.* Cf. 1 John ii. 16 ἡ ἐπιθυμία τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν. A bad ethical sense is not necessarily implied in our text.

5. *Sense . . . sense.* In both cases πνεῦμα.

*Tastes are given.* β-d g S read "taste is given."

*To draw air and breath* (εἰς ὀλκὴν ἀέρος καὶ ἀναπνοῆς). Cf. Arist. *De Spir.* 2, ὀλκὴ . . πνεύματος. But the idea in our text is found in the Talmud, etc. See note on T. Naph. ii. 8.

6. *Power.* In text, πνεῦμα.

*Speech.* Though here the fifth, in the Stoic order this was the sixth faculty (see p. 4).

7. *Sense.* In text, πνεῦμα.

*And by them strength is produced.* (ἴσχυς ἐν αὐτῷ κτίζεται). αὐτῷ should be αὐτῇ (but this is only found in *d*) or αὐτοῖς (only found in *b* S).

8. *Power.* In text, πνεῦμα.

9. *As a blind man to a pit.* Cf. Matt. xv. 14.

III. 1-2. This mention of an eighth spirit or power of sleep is not derived from the Stoic teaching, but is due to the interpolator, to whom also we owe iii. 7, on which see note. Possibly this addition was due to the fact that *eight* senses or powers were taught by the Stoics. *Seven* would be a natural Semitic division, not *eight*. In ver. 2 there is an attempt to adapt the interpolation to its new context.

*Trance of nature* (ἔκστασις φύσεως). Since each of the preceding bodily powers is mentioned with a view to showing its contribution to human activity, there seems to be something wrong with the description attached to "sleep." We should rather expect ἀνανέωσις, "renewal," for ἔκστασις. In that case we might render the words that follow "and yet it is the image of death," or reject them as a gloss.

*And the image of death.* See preceding note. Cf. Homer, *Il.* xiv. 231, ὕπνῳ . . . κασιγνήτῳ θανάτοιο: also xvi. 672, 682; Hesiod, *Theog.* 756.

and in the senses; the second, the spirit of insatiableness, in the belly; 4. The third, the spirit of fighting, in the liver and gall. The fourth is the spirit of obsequiousness and chicanery, that through officious attention one may be fair in seeming. 5. The fifth is the spirit of pride, that one may be boastful and arrogant. The sixth is the spirit of lying, †in perdition and in jealousy† to practise deceits, and concealments from kindred and friends. 6. The seventh is the spirit of injustice, with which are thefts and acts of rapacity, that a man may fulfil the desire of his heart; for injustice worketh together with the other spirits by the taking of gifts. [7. And with all these the spirit of sleep is joined which is (that) of error and fantasy.] 8. And so perisheth every young man, darkening his mind from the truth, and not understanding the law of God, nor obeying the admonitions of his fathers, as befell me also in my youth. 9. And now, my children, love the truth, and it will preserve you: hear ye ⌜the words of⌝ Reuben your father.

10. Pay no heed to the face of a woman,

4. *Spirit of fighting in the liver.* Cf. T. Naph. ii. 8.

5. † *In perdition and jealousy* (= ἐν ἀπωλείᾳ καὶ ζήλῳ). The context requires a parallel to "from kindred and friends" (ἀπὸ γένους καὶ οἰκείων). The former = בשואה וקנאה, which I take to be corrupt for לשונא וקנאה = ἔχθρᾳ καὶ ἀντιζήλῳ, "to an enemy and rival." Hence the text should run: "to practise deceits on an enemy or rival and concealments from kindred and friends."

*Practise deceits and concealments.* Text is πλάττειν λόγους καὶ κρύπτειν λόγους. With πλάττειν λόγους cf. 2 Pet. ii. 3 πλαστοῖς λόγοις; Herod. i. 68, etc.

6. *Fulfil.* So *a*. *β* A S read "do."

7. This verse is interpolated. Into an enumeration of the *vices* it would be absurd to introduce "sleep," which in itself is neither morally good nor bad. In a list of the natural powers such as that given in ii. 3-iii. 2 it would be in place. Moreover, the mention of an *eighth* spirit after ii. 1, 2, would be strange. This addition is either modelled on iii. 1, 2, or else both are from the same hand.

*Sleep.* *β* $S^1$ add "the eighth spirit." A is corrupt, but supports this addition.

8. *Darkening his mind.* Cf. Eph. iv. 18 ἐσκοτισμένοι τῇ διανοίᾳ, also Rom. i. 21.

*Of error* (*d*, $A^{-b}$). *a a e* read "error."

*Understanding the law.* Here συνιὼν ἐν τῷ νόμῳ is a Hebraism = בן במורה.

9. *Preserve you.* *b e* A add "and (*b e* $A^a$ om.) I admonish you," which was perhaps lost by the other MSS. through homoiotoleuton.

⌜*The words of*⌝. So *a a e f*. *b d* A om.

10. *Pay no heed*, etc. See iv. 1.

Nor associate with another man's wife,
Nor meddle with affairs of womankind.

11. For had I not seen Bilhah bathing in a covered place, I had not fallen into this great iniquity. 12. For my mind taking in the thought of the woman's nakedness, suffered me not ⌜to sleep⌝ until I had wrought the abominable thing. 13. For while Jacob our father had gone to Isaac his father, when we were in Eder, near to Ephrath in Bethlehem, Bilhah became drunk and was asleep uncovered in her chamber. 14. Having therefore gone in and beheld her nakedness, I wrought the impiety ⌜without her perceiving it⌝, and leaving her sleeping I departed. 15. And forthwith an angel of God revealed to my father concerning my impiety, and he came and mourned over me, and touched her no more.

*Associate* (α). β-*g* $S^1$ = "be alone." With this line compare Sir. ix. 9 *μετὰ ὑπάνδρου γυναικὸς μὴ κάθου* (= אל תשב). This appears corruptly in the Hebrew עם בעלה אל תטעם = "with a married woman do not eat." The Syriac = עם בעלה אל תרבה שיחה. The latter phrase "do not talk much" is found in a like connection in Aboth i. 5 "Do not talk much with women." In Sanh. $100^b$ and Yebam. $63^b$, where Sir. is quoted, the words "with a married woman" are omitted and only אל תם אצלה (= "turn not aside to her") preserved. Thus it appears that the original of Sir. ix. 9 is quite uncertain. Our text may represent a version of it. With our text compare also Sir. xli. 17, 21 *αἰσχύνεσθε . . . ἀπὸ κατανοήσεως γυναικὸς ὑπάνδρου*, Nedarim $20^a$ "Talk not too much with a woman; for it will end in fornication." For a like command to women, see our text vi. 2.

*Nor meddle with the affairs*, etc. (*μὴ περιεργάζεσθε πρᾶξιν*). Cf. Sir. xli. 21 (*αἰσχύνεσθε*) *ἀπὸ περιεργείας παιδίσκης αὐτοῦ*. For *πράξιν* (*a b f* S) "affairs," *d e* $A^{abcdeg}$ read *πράξεις*, *a ὄψιν*.

11-15. Cf. Gen. xxxv. 21, 22; Jub. xxxiii. 1-9. Reuben's sin is denied in later works such as Gen. rabba 98, 99; Ps.-Jon. on Gen. xxxv. 22; Shabb. $55^b$; Book of Jashar (*Dict. des Apocryph.* ii. 1172). See my note on Jub. xxxiii. 2.

11. Cf. Jub. xxxiii. 2.

13. *Had gone to.* So *c* A (*ἀπίοντος*). This reading has the support also of Jub. xxxiii. 1 "And he went to his father Isaac, he and Leah his wife." $\beta_1$ $S^1$ read "was absent with" (*ἀπόντος*).

*Eder near Ephrath in Bethlehem.* Cf. Gen. xxxv. 19, 21; Jub. xxxiii. 1.

*Bilhah became drunk and was asleep.* The statement that Bilhah was drunk is peculiar, so far as I am aware, to our text. It is added to the story to explain Bilhah's unconsciousness of the outrage of Reuben. Thus she was still asleep when Reuben left her (ver. 14). This addition accounts also for the new turn given to the story in ver. 15.

14. *Without her perceiving* (*it*). α. β A S om.

*Leaving her sleeping.* According to Jub. xxxiii. 4, 5, Bilhah awoke and cried out and Reuben fled.

15. According to Jub. xxxiii. 6, 7, Bilhah lamented exceedingly and told the matter to Jacob on his return.

*Father.* β A $S^1$ add "Jacob."

*Touched*, etc. Cf. Jub. xxxiii. 9.

IV. Pay no heed, therefore, [my children], to the beauty of women, nor set your mind on their affairs; but walk in singleness of heart in the fear of the Lord, and expend labour on good works, and on study and on your flocks, until the Lord give you a wife, whom He will, that ye suffer not as I did. 2. For until my father's death I had not boldness to look in his face, or to speak to any of my brethren, because of the reproach. 3. Even until now my conscience causeth me anguish on account of my impiety. 4. And yet my father comforted me much, and prayed for

IV. 1. *Pay no heed . . . to the beauty of women, nor set thy mind on their affairs.* Cf. iii. 10; T. Jud. xvii. 1; T. Iss. iv. 4. Sir. ix. 8 *ἀπόστρεψον ὀφθαλμὸν ἀπὸ γυναικὸς εὐμόρφου, καὶ μὴ καταμάνθανε κάλλος ἀλλότριον.* This first clause of Sirach here is found in Sanh. 100$^{b}$, Yebam. 63$^{b}$ הצלם אישך מאשת חן. In Abodah-zara 20$^{b}$ a man is forbidden to look on a beautiful woman (לא יסתכל אדם באשה נאה) even when single, and on a homely woman if married, and in Erubin 18$^{b}$, Berakoth 61$^{a}$, it is said that the post-Mishnic Rabbis taught that if a man gives a woman money or receives it from her in order to look on her (להסתכל בה) he will not escape hell even if he were like Moses. On the danger of the beauty of a wicked woman cf. Pss. Sol. xvi. 8.

*My children.* $\beta$-$d$ A S$^{1}$ om.

*Singleness of heart, ἁπλότητι τῆς καρδίας* = תֹּם לֵבָב. The phrase is found also in Wisd. i. 1; Col. iii. 22; Eph. vi. 5; also according to some MSS. in Levi xiii. 1; and as *εὐθύτητι καρδίας* in T. Iss. iii. 1. See note on "uprightness" in T. Iss. iii. 2.

*On good works and.* So $c$ A. *ἐν ἔργοις καλοῖς καί* = בְּמַעֲשִׂים יְשָׁרִים ו. But the latter was corrupted in the $\beta$ recension into בְּמַעֲשִׂים וְשָׂרִים, which was rendered in $\beta$ S as *ἐν ἔργοις καὶ ἀποπλανώμενοι*, a text that is really untranslatable. $h$ is defective, *ἐν ἔργοις καί.*

2. *Had . . . courage, εἶχον . . . παρρησίαν.* Cf. Philemon 8 for phrase.

*Our* ($a$ $d$ $e^{1}$ $g$ A). $a$ $b$ $e^{2}$ $f$ S$^{1}$ read "my."

*His face* ($a$ $d$). $\beta$-$d$ $e$ S$^{1}$ read "Jacob's face."

3. The conscience appears here for the first time in Jewish literature as a fully developed conception. The word itself is found, Eccles. x. 20, as a rendering of מַדָּע; also in some MSS. of Sir. xlii. 18 as a variant of *εἴδησιν*; but in neither of these cases has it the technical sense which we attach to it. This is first found in the LXX in Wisd. xvii. 10 *ἀεὶ δὲ προσείληφε τὰ χαλεπὰ* (*πονηρία*) *συνεχομένη τῇ συνειδήσει.* Its appearance in our text may be the first instance of its occurrence in Greek Palestinian literature. See also T. Jud. xx. 2 ($a$). The action of the conscience is described in two other passages in our author: T. Jud. xx. 5 "the sinner is burnt up by his own heart and cannot raise his face to his Judge": T. Gad v. 3 "He that is just and humble is ashamed to do what is unjust, being reproved not of another, but of his own heart." It will be observed that in the above passages in our author conscience pronounces judgment only on our own actions, not on those of other men. This, however, is probably only an accident. On the general history of the word see Sanday-Headlam on Romans ii. 15, P. Ewald's *De Vocis Συνειδήσεως apud Script. N.T. vi ac potestate*, 1883.

*Causeth me anguish.* I take *συνέχει* here to be a rendering of בעת.

*Impiety* ($a$). $\beta$ S$^{1}$ read "sin."

4. *Much* ($a$). A = "often," $\beta$ S$^{1}$ omit.

*And prayed* ($a$ $d$ $g$). $\beta$-$d$ $g$ A S$^{1}$ read "for he prayed."

me unto the Lord, that the anger of the Lord might pass from me, even as the Lord showed. And thenceforth until now I have been on my guard and sinned not. 5. Therefore, my children, ⌜I say unto you⌝, observe ⌜all⌝ things whatsoever I command you, and ye shall not sin. 6. For a pit unto the soul is the sin of fornication, separating it from God, and bringing it near to idols, because it deceiveth the mind and understanding, and leadeth down young men into Hades before their time. 7. For many hath fornication destroyed; because, though a man be old or noble, ⌜or rich or poor,⌝ he bringeth reproach upon himself with the sons of men and derision with Beliar. 8. For hear ye regarding Joseph how he guarded himself from a woman, and purged his thoughts from all fornication, and found favour in the sight of God and men. 9. For

*That the anger of the Lord might pass.* According to Jub. xxxiii. 15 "Reuben was granted life and forgiveness."

*And* (*a* A). *β* S omit.

*Until now* (ἕως νῦν, *a*). *d g* A read (*μετανοῶν*) "repenting," *a e f* ἕως ἐννοιῶν "(even) in thought."

5. *I say unto you* (*a*). *β-g* A S om.

6-7. Cf. T. Jud. xv. 1, xviii. 2-6, on the evils of fornication.

6. *A pit* (*βόθρος*) *unto the soul . . . fornication.* So *a* (*a f*). *β-a f* A S$^1$ read "the destruction (*ὄλεθρος*) of the soul is fornication." Here *βόθρος* and *ὄλεθρος* could both be renderings of שחת, but the variation probably arose within the Greek.

*The sin of fornication* (*a a e f*). *b d g* A S$^1$ read "fornication."

*Separating it from God . . . idols.* Phrase recurs in T. Sim. v. 3. Kethub. 11$^b$ states that "most idolaters are adulterers."

*Bringing it near to idols.* Cf. Wisd. xiv. 12 ἀρχὴ γὰρ πορνείας ἐπίνοια εἰδώλων, but the term "fornication" is there used metaphorically of spiritual unfaithfulness, not literally as in our text.

*Leadeth down . . . to Hades.* Cf. Prov. vii. 27 "Her house is the way to Sheol, going down (יורדות) to the chambers of death." LXX has here κατάγουσαι (*i.e.* מורדות), as our text.

*Before their time.* Here οὐκ ἐν καιρῷ αὐτῶν = בלא עתם. This Hebraic phrase recurs in T. Jud. xvi. 3. With this verse cf. T. Jud. xv. 1, 5, 6.

7. *Many hath fornication destroyed.* Cf. Prov. vii. 26 "She has cast down many wounded, all her slain are a mighty host"; Sir. ix. 8 ἐν κάλλει γυναικὸς πολλοὶ ἐπλανήθησαν, but for ἐπλαν. we should read ἀπεκτάνθησαν. Thus Sanh. 100$^b$, Yebam. 63$^b$, preserve the text במואר אשה יפה רבים הושחתו.

*Or rich or poor* (*a*). *β* A S$^1$ om.

*Bringeth reproach . . . derision with Beliar* (*a*). *d e* A S read "maketh himself a reproach and subject of derision (*γέλωτα*) with B. and the sons of men." Instead of "derision" (*γέλωτα*) *a* reads corruptly *πρόσκομμα*, which = מוֹקֵשׁ, which seems to be a corruption of שְׂחוֹק = *γέλωτα*.

8. *For hear ye regarding J. how he guarded himself from a* (*a*). *β* A S$^1$ read "for since J. guarded himself from every." See T. Jos. vi.

*And found favour in the sight of God* (*a*). *β* A S$^1$ read "he found favour in the sight of the Lord." Cf. T. Sim. v.

the Egyptian woman did many things unto him, and summoned magicians, and offered him love potions, but the purpose of his soul admitted no evil desire. 10. Therefore the God of your fathers delivered him from every evil (and) hidden death. 11. For if fornication overcomes not your mind, neither can Beliar overcome you.

V. ⌜For⌝ evil are women, my children; and since they have no power or strength over man, they use wiles by outward attractions that they may draw him to themselves. 2. And whom they cannot bewitch by outward attractions, him they overcome by craft. 3. ⌜For⌝ moreover, concerning them, the angel of the Lord told me, and taught me, that women are overcome by the spirit of fornication more than men, and in their heart they plot against men; and by means of their adornment they deceive first their minds, and by the glance of the eye instil the poison, and then through the accomplished act they take them captive.

2. The phrase is originally derived from 1 Sam. ii. 26; Prov. iii. 3, 4. It is in part found again in Luke ii. 52, and notably in Acts vii. 10, where it is used in connection with Joseph as in our text: *καὶ . . . ὁ θεὸς . . . ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ χάριν καὶ σοφίαν ἐναντίον Φαραώ.*

9. Cf. T. Jos. vi.

10. *Your fathers* (*c*). *h i* A $S^1$ read "our fathers," *β* "my fathers."

*Delivered him*, etc. Cf. Acts vii. 10 *ἐξείλατο αὐτὸν ἐκ πασῶν τῶν θλίψεων αὐτοῦ.*

*Evil* (*a*). Here *πονηροῦ* = רע or *ישע*, which was corrupted into ראוי. Hence *ὁρατοῦ καί*, the reading of *β-d* A *b* $S^1$, "visible and."

11. Beliar has no power over the pure. Cf. Jub. i. 20, x. 6 (note); Eccles. vii. 26.

*Your* (*h β-a b*). *c* $A^{a\,b\,*\,d}$ read "our," *a b* $S^1$ omit.

*Can . . . overcome* (*a*). *β* A $S^1$ read "shall . . . overcome."

V. 1. *For* (*a*). *β* A $S^1$ om.

*Evil are women.* Cf. Eccles. vii. 27, 28.

*And since* (*a* A). *β* $S^1$ read "because since."

*By outward attractions.* The text is *ἐν σχήμασι* and is hard to translate. *σχῆμα* embraces everything in a person that strikes the senses, *i.e.* the figure, bearing, attire, gestures, actions. Thus it appears to refer to unseemly gestures and meretricious attire in ver. 4 and to outward adornment in ver. 5.

2. *By outward attractions* (*διὰ σχήματος*). So *a*. *β* A $S^1$ read *δυνάμεως*, which is here quite wrong. *δύναμις* may = אין or הון, a corruption of הור or חן = *σχῆμα*.

*Bewitch* (*καταγοητεύσασθαι-a*). *β* A $S^1$ read "overcome" (*καταγωνίσασθαι*).

3. With this estimate of women cf. Eccles. vii. 27.

*They plot.* Cf. Eccles. vii. 26 "Whose heart is snares and nets."

*First* (*β* A $S^1$). *a* omits.

*Glance of the eye.* The lustful movement of the eyes is referred to again in T. Iss. vii. 2 *ἐν μετεωρισμῷ ὀφθαλμῶν*, T. Ben. vi. 3 *μετεωρισμοῖς ὀφθαλμῶν*. We find it first mentioned in Prov. vi. 25 אַל־תַּקַּח בְּעַפְעַפֶּיהָ, and next in Sir. xxiii. 4 *μετεωρισμὸν ὀφθαλμῶν μὴ δῷς μοι*, xxvi. 9 *πορνεία γυναικὸς ἐν μετεωρισμοῖς ὀφθαλμῶν*. In Sir. xxiii. 4 *ἐπιθυμίαν*

4. For a woman cannot force a man openly, but by a harlot's bearing she beguiles him. 5. Flee, therefore, fornication, my children, and command your wives and your daughters, that they adorn not their heads and faces to deceive the mind; because every woman who useth these wiles hath been reserved for eternal punishment. 6. For thus they allured the Watchers who were before the flood; for as these continually beheld them, they lusted after them, and they conceived the act in their mind; for they changed themselves into the shape of men, and appeared to them when they were with their husbands. 7. And the women lusting in their minds after their forms, gave birth to giants, for the Watchers appeared to them as reaching even unto heaven.

VI. Beware, therefore, of fornication; and if you wish

appears as a parallel to *μετεωρισμὸν ὀφθαλμῶν*. Cf. also T. Is. iii. 16 "wanton eyes."

4. *Openly . . . beguiles him* (α). β A $S^1$ omit.

5. *Therefore* (β A $S^1$). α reads "henceforth" or "moreover" (*λοιπόν*).

*Adorn not their heads and faces.* According to Enoch viii. 1 the fallen Watchers taught women the arts of beautifying the face and wearing precious metals—a view that is adopted by Tertullian *De Cultu Fem.* i. 2, 10. This is contrary to the statement in the next verse that it was by such adornments that women allured the Watchers into sin. For the Hebrew *locus classicus* on the ornaments of women, see Is. iii. 16.

*Reserved for eternal punishment* (*εἰς κόλασιν αἰώνιον τετήρηται*). Cf. Jude 6 *εἰς κρίσιν . . . τετήρηκεν*: 2 Pet. ii. 4 *εἰς κρίσιν τηρουμένους*.

6. *Thus they allured the Watchers.* According to Jub. iv. 15 (where see my note) the Watchers descended to instruct the children of men, and afterwards proceeded to take themselves wives of the daughters of men (Jub. v. 1). The same view in a fuller form is found in the Chronicles of Jerahmeel xxv. 2-4. In xxv. 7, 13, it is said that "Azazel was appointed chief over all dyes and all kinds of ornaments by which women entice men to thoughts of sin." This agrees with our text that it was by the use of dyes and ornaments that women enticed the Watchers. It is quite possible that the above story may have been in the minds of St. Peter and St. Paul when they wrote 1 Pet. iii. 3-5 *ὧν ἔστω οὐχ ὁ ἔξωθεν ἐμπλοκῆς τριχῶν καὶ περιθέσεως χρυσίων ἢ ἐνδύσεως ἱματίων κόσμος, ἀλλ' ὁ κρυπτὸς τῆς καρδίας ἄνθρωπος . . . οὕτως γάρ ποτε καὶ αἱ ἅγιαι γυναῖκες . . . ἐκόσμουν ἑαυτάς*: 1 Tim. ii. 9 *ὡσαύτως γυναῖκας . . . μὴ ἐν πλέγμασιν καὶ χρυσίῳ ἢ μαργαρίταις ἢ ἱματισμῷ πολυτελεῖ*.

*Watchers* (*Ἐγρήγοροι*). See Dan iv. 13, 23; 1 Enoch vi.-viii.; Jub. iv. 15, v. 1; 2 Enoch xviii. 3, and preceding note.

*For as* (α *d*). β-*d* A $S^1$ read "and as."

*Lusted after them.* So $A^{bb*cdeg}$, α β-*g* read "lusted after one another."

*Reaching unto heaven.* According to 1 Enoch vii. 2 their height was 3000 ells.

VI. *Beware . . . of fornication* (*πορνείας*). Cf. iv. 6; T. Sim. v. 3; Tobit iv. 12. *πορνεία* here embraces both adultery and fornication.

to be pure in mind, guard your senses from every woman. 2. And command the women likewise not to associate with men, that they also may be pure in mind. 3. For constant meetings, even though the ungodly deed be not wrought, are to them an irremediable disease, and to us a destruction of Beliar and an eternal reproach. 4. For in fornication there is neither understanding nor †godliness, and all jealousy dwelleth in the lust thereof.

5. Therefore, ⌜then, I say unto you,⌝ ye will be jealous ⌜against the sons of Levi⌝, and will seek to be exalted over them; but ye shall not be able. 6. For God will avenge them ⌜and ye shall die by an evil death⌝. 7. For to Levi

*If you wish to be pure . . . guard* ($\beta$ A $S^1$). $\alpha$ reads "Be pure in mind: guard also."

*Every woman* ($h\,\beta$ S). $c$ reads "women," A "all women."

2. *Not to associate with men.* For a similar command to men see iii. 10.

*That they may be pure in mind.* Here and Matt. v. 27, 28, purity of heart is required.

3. *A destruction of Beliar and an eternal reproach* ($\alpha$). $\beta$ $S^1$ read "an eternal reproach of B," A "a great reproach." Cf. T. Reub. iv. 7.

† *Godliness* (εὐσέβειαν). Text, which appears to be corrupt, = חסידות, which may be corrupt for חכמה = "wisdom." Cf. Prov. vi. 32. Or εὐσέβειαν is corrupt for ἐυλάβειαν as in Mic. vii. 2, Sir. xi. 17. In that case render "discretion."

*Jealousy*, etc. Cf. Num. v. 29; Prov. vi. 34.

5-12. This is the first of the many passages in the Testaments which set forth the merits and claims of Levi. Cf. T. Sim. vii. 2; T. Lev. ii. 11, viii. 14, xviii. 1, 2; T. Dan v. 4; T. Naph. viii. 2; T. Gad viii. 1; T. Jos. xix. 11. According to the main teaching of the Testaments the salvation of Israel is to proceed jointly from Levi and Judah, T. Sim. vii. 1; T. Lev. ii. 11; T. Dan v. 4; T. Naph. viii. 2; T. Gad viii. 1; T. Jos. xix. 11. Only in T. Gad viii. 1 is Judah mentioned before Levi in this connection, and that passage is probably corrupt. Levi is exalted above Judah. Thus Levi is spoken of as priest and king in Reub. vi. 7-12; Lev. viii. 14, xviii. 1, 2; as high priest only in Sim. vii. 2. Judah is described as king in T. Sim. vii. 2; T. Jud. i. 6, xvii. 5; T. Naph. viii. 2; but the last passage is corrupt or interpolated. According to T. Reub. vi. 7 the kingship is divided between Levi, Judah, Reuben, Dan, and Joseph; and the Messiah to spring from Judah, according to T. Jud. xxiv. 1; but here the text is corrupt.

5. *Then I say unto you* ($\alpha$). $\beta$-*d* A $S^1$ om.

*Jealous against the sons of Levi . . . but ye shall not be able.* A similar charge is made against the sons of Simeon, T. Sim. v. 4, and of Dan, T. Dan v. 5. The object of all such admonitions is to bring about a general submission of Israel to the Maccabean hegemony.

*Will seek to be exalted over them.* Cf. T. Sim. vii. 1; T. Jud. xxi. 1.

7. This verse deals with the kingship of Levi. The bracketed words are a foolish interpolation; for the entire passage 5-11 deals with the absolute supremacy of Levi as priest and king. Thus in 5-6 Reuben tells his sons that they will be envious of the sons of Levi and will seek to be exalted above them, but that they will fail, for that God is their avenger. Hence they are to obey Levi (ver. 8), since God has given him the sovereignty (ver. 7). It is possible, indeed, that the words "and to Judah

God gave the sovereignty [and to Judah with him and to me also, and to Dan and Joseph, that we should be for rulers]. 8. Therefore I command you to hearken to Levi, because he shall know the law of the Lord, and shall give ordinances for judgment and shall sacrifice for all Israel until the consummation of the times, as the anointed High

with him" may be genuine, as in T. Sim. vii. 2, T. Naph. viii. 2, Judah's kingship is mentioned, but this is not likely if ver. 11 is genuine, and this there is no reason to question.

In the Targum of Ps.-Jon. on Gen. xlix. 3 we find a very different statement representing the views of the Jews before and after Maccabean times: "It was fitting for thee, Reuben, to receive the primogeniture, the dignity of the priesthood and the sovereignty; but because thou didst sin, my son, the primogeniture is given to Joseph, the kingdom to Judah, and the priesthood to Levi."

*With him* (*a e f*). *a g* A read "after him."

8. *Shall know* (γνώσεται). A = γνωρίσει.

*The Lord* (β A S). *a* reads "God."

*Give ordinances for judgment* (διαστελεῖ εἰς κρῖσιν (*c* β-*b g* S). This rendering may be right, but if that is the sense, διαστελεῖται would be the usual form. *h g* A read διατελεῖ εἰς κρίσιν "fulfil in respect of judgment." Perhaps δια(σ)τελεῖ εἰς is corrupt for διατελέσει. In that case we should have: "will execute judgment." Here the civil power of the Maccabees is referred to.

*All* (β A S). *a* om.

*All Israel.* It is clear from our text that the Twelve Tribes were supposed by our author to be already living in Palestine under the early Maccabees. Thus John Hyrcanus, to whom our text refers, was to give ordinances for judgment and to sacrifice for all Israel until the consummation of the times. He was to bless Israel and Judah (ver. 11). The Twelve Tribes and all the Gentiles were to worship in the Second Temple, T. Ben. ix. 2. The fact that our author addressed his book to the Twelve Tribes points in the same direction. The letter of Aristeas (Swete's *Introd. to O.T. in Greek*, p. 525), moreover, states that Eleazar the high priest sent six men from each of his Twelve Tribes to Ptolemy. This naturally presupposes the existence of the tribes in Palestine or its neighbourhood. According to the older belief (1 Enoch lxxxix. 72) the northern tribes were still in captivity. The idea that the Jewish kingdom once again embraced the entire nation could easily arise when the Maccabees brought under their sway a larger dominion than had ever acknowledged the rule of Solomon. The idea of the apostasy and final rejection of the Ten Tribes which appears in the Mishna, Sanh. xi. 3 (Sanh. 110 *b*, Jer. Sanh. 29 *c*, see details in Bacher[2], *Agada der Tannaiten* i. 137), was unknown at this time, and to an idealist like our author an impossible thought. Even of the rejection of Dan there are no traces in the 2nd cent. B.C.; for T. Dan v. 6-7 belong to the 1st cent. B.C.

But with the failure of the Maccabees the great expectations that had arisen and idealised this dynasty vanished. As the Messianic hopes centred themselves again on the tribe of Judah, so the older idea of the captivity of the Northern Tribes revived. See Pss. Sol. xvii. 28, 34, 50; Philo, *Leg. ad Gaium*, 31; Ass. Mos. iv. 8, 9; Jos. *Ant.* xi. 5. 2; Sib. Or. ii. 170-173; 4 Ezra xiii. 39-47; Apoc. Bar. i. 2, 3, lxxviii. 1, 5, 7, lxxxiv. 10. See Schürer[3], *G. J. V.* ii. 538, iii. 5, 8, 467; Bousset, *Religion des Judenthums* (1903), 57 sqq.; Volz, *Jüd. Eschat.* 311 sqq.

*Consummation of the times* (τελειώσεως χρόνων). With this phrase cf. T. Lev. x. 2 (T. Ben. xi. 3) συντελείᾳ τῶν αἰώνων, T. Zeb. ix. 8 καιροῦ συντελείας. This phrase denotes the closing years of the present age from the standpoint of the individual writer, and the beginning of a new era. This new era, though

Priest, of whom the Lord spake. 9. I adjure you by the God of heaven to do truth each one unto his neighbour and to entertain love each for his brother. 10. And draw ye near to Levi in humbleness of heart, that ye may receive a blessing from his mouth. 11. For he shall bless Israel and Judah, because him hath the Lord chosen to be king

constituting the Messianic age, need not necessarily constitute an immediate and absolute breach with the present, but may be ushered in through a gradual transformation of the present moral and physical conditions. This is the teaching of Jubilees (see my notes i. 29, v. 12, xxiii. 26-30), and likewise of the author, T. Lev. xviii. 9. The phrase "time of the end" occurs frequently in Daniel (viii. 19, xi. 35, 40, xii. 4, 9) as a technical expression, and embraces the period of Antiochus' persecution together with the establishment of the Messianic kingdom a few months later (vii. 14, 18, 22, 27, xii. 2, 3). In the LXX of Daniel we find ὥραν καιροῦ viii. 17, ὥραν συντελείας xi. 40, καιροῦ συντελείας xii. 4 (cf. viii. 19, xi. 35, where the Hebrew is different), all as renderings of עת־קץ. The same meaning attaches to the phrases in 1 Enoch x. 13 ἡμέρας . . . τελεσμοῦ, xvi. 1 ἡμέρα τῆς τελειώσεως (Syncellus). Cf. Ass. Mos. i. 18 in consummatione exitus dierum; x. 13 (tempora) consummentur; Apoc. Bar. xxvii. 15, xxix. 8, xxx. 3, "consummation of the times"; lvi. 2 "consummation of the world"; lxxxiii. 7 "consummation of the age." Cf. also 4 Ezra ix. 5; Gal. iv. 4 τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ χρόνου. See note on "the last times" T. Iss. vi. 1.

*The anointed High Priest* = ἀρχιερεὺς χριστός (= הכהן המשיח), emended from *h*, which reads ἀρχιερεὺς χριστοῦ. *c* β S read ἀρχιερέως χριστοῦ. A$^{bb*cdeg}$ = τοῦ εἶναι ἱερέα τῆς διαθήκας Χριστοῦ (A$^{a}$ om., A$^{g}$ κήρυκος). The above slight emendation restores harmony to the text. A Maccabean prince-priest is here referred to. See next note.

*Of whom the Lord spake.* These words appear to point clearly to Ps. cx. The Greek δν εἶπεν ὁ κύριος (= אשר אמר יי) recalls נאם יהוה לאדני, though here it must be rendered as above "of whom He spake." For this construction cf. Mark xiv. 71; John i. 15, vi. 71 (viii. 54). Our text is a reinterpretation or new application of Ps. cx. That psalm, which was written originally in honour of Simon, pointed really, according to our author, to John Hyrcanus. A similar reinterpretation may be found in 4 Ezra xi. 1 sqq. where the writer implies that the vision in Dan. vii. 7, 8 was misinterpreted by the angel in vii. 23-25.

9. *I adjure thee*, etc. See note on i. 6.

*Do truth each one unto his neighbour* (*h i* ποιεῖν, β S ποιῆσαι, A πατῆσαι ἀληθείᾳ) ἕκαστος πρὸς τὸν πλησίον αὐτοῦ). For ποιεῖν *c* reads λαλεῖν, which brings the text into exact accordance with Zech. viii. 16; Gal. iv. 25, "Speak the truth," etc. This quotation is found also in T. Dan v. 2.

*Entertain love each*, etc. Cf. Lev. xix. 18. Cf. T. Sim. iv. 7; T. Dan v. 3.

10-11. Levi chosen to be at once high priest and sovereign prince of the nation. These two verses agree in matter with what is said in 1 Macc. xiv. 41 regarding Simon: οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς εὐδόκησαν τοῦ εἶναι αὐτῶν Σίμωνα ἡγούμενον καὶ ἀρχιερέα εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ἕως τοῦ ἀναστῆναι προφήτην πιστόν. The saving clause ἕως . . . πιστόν was possibly a later addition.

*Of heart* (β-*d g* A S). *a d g* read "of your ('our' *d*) heart."

*Receive a blessing from his mouth.* Cf. Jub. xxxi. 15 "the blessing of the Lord will be given in their mouths"; Sir. l. 20 δοῦναι εὐλογίαν κυρίῳ ἐκ χειλέων αὐτοῦ. The Hebrew of the latter agrees closely with Jub. xxxi. 15 ברכת יהוה בשפתיו.

11. *Him hath the Lord chosen, i.e.* Levi. The Greek is ἐν αὐτῷ . . . ἐξελέξατο, a Hebraism = בו בחר.

over all the nation. 12. And bow down before his seed, for on our behalf it will die in wars visible and invisible, and will be among you an eternal king.

VII. And Reuben died, having given these commands to his sons. 2. And they placed him in a coffin until they carried him up from Egypt, and buried him ⌜in Hebron⌝ in the cave where his father was.

*All the nation* (*a f* A). *β-f* $S^1$ read "all the nations."

12. This verse refers to the achievements of the Maccabean prince-priests in the departments of their temporal and spiritual sovereignty. The greater number of them "died in wars visible," fighting on behalf of Israel. Cf. T. Sim. v. 5. Next, the phrase "die in wars invisible" may be explained from the fact that these great high priests spent themselves on behalf of Israel's spiritual interests. Cf. Ps. lxix. 9, cxix. 139.

*Our behalf* (*c a b g* $A^b$). *h e f* $A^{ab*cdeg}S^1$ read "your behalf."

*Will die.* $A^{ab*cdeg}$ read the plural ἀποθανοῦνται.

*Eternal king* (*a d* βασιλεὺς αἰώνιος). *β-d* $S^1$ read βασιλεὺς αἰώνων, A βασιλεῖς αἰώνιοι. The phrase = βασιλεὺς εἰς αἰῶνα = מלך לעולם. Cf. the similar phrase ἱερεύς εἰς αἰῶνα 1 Macc. xiv. 41; Ps. cx. 4.

But it is possible that this verse does not refer to the Maccabean dynasty, but to a single member of it, John Hyrcanus, as in ver. 8. In that case the words "his seed" would be corrupt. These words = σπέρμα αὐτοῦ = זרעו, which the Greek translator should have punctuated as זרעו = "his arm" or "might." Next, "will die" = ἀποθανεῖται = ימות, which may be corrupt for יריב or יעמוד. Hence, "bow down before his might; for he will strive (or "will stand forth") on our behalf . . . and will be a king for ever." To Hyrcanus regarded as the Messianic king these words would be applicable.

VII. 2. *Carried him up from Egypt and buried him in Hebron.* This was done in the case of all the brothers except Joseph, whose bones remained in Egypt till the Exodus, when they were carried by the Israelites till they reached Canaan. The above statement is found also in Acts vii. 16; Joseph. *Ant.* ii. 8. 2.

*Cave* (*a*). *β* A S read "double cave," *i.e.* Machpelah, which means "double."

*His father was* (*h a f* and practically *c*). *b e g* A read "his (*g* A "their") fathers were."

# THE TESTAMENT OF SIMEON, THE SECOND SON OF JACOB AND LEAH

I. THE copy of the words of Simeon, the things which he spake to his sons before he died, in the hundred and twentieth year of his life, at which time Joseph, [his brother,] died. 2. For when Simeon was sick, his sons came to visit him, and he strengthened himself and sat up and kissed them, and said:—

II. Hearken, my children, to Simeon your father,
And I will declare unto you what things I have in my heart.
2. I was born of Jacob as my father's second son;
And my mother Leah called me Simeon,
Because the Lord had heard her prayer.
3. Moreover, I became strong exceedingly;
I shrank from no achievement,
Nor was I afraid of ought.
4. For my heart was hard,

Title as in *a*. *β-a d e* $A^{efg}$ $S^1$ read "Testament of Simeon the second (*f* om.) regarding envy." *a* reads "Simeon." *d e* are conflate.

1. *Copy of the words* (*h β-d e* $S^1$). *d e* $A^{ab}$ read "copy of the testament"; *c* "testament."

*Before he died . . . of his life.* *a d* om. through hmt.

*Hundred and twentieth year* (*β-d g* $A^{b*cd}$). This agrees with the Midrash Tadshe. See Reub. i. 1 note. $A^{abcfg}$ $S^1$ read "hundred and twenty-fifth ($A^{eg}$ "sixth") year."

*Time* (*a*). *β-g* A $S^1$ read "year."

*Joseph died.* Thus the year of Joseph's death synchronised with that of Simeon. This agrees with the statements in Jub. xxviii. 13, 24, in so far as the latter represents Joseph as being born ten years later than Simeon.

*His brother* (*a d*). *β-d* A $S^1$ omit.

*Said.* *b* $A^b$ * $S^1$ add ἀντοῖς.

II. 1. *My children* (*a d* A). *β-d g* $S^1$ read "children," and *β-e* $A^{-h}$ $S^1$ add "hearken."

*And I will declare unto you.* *β* $A^{b*cdefg}$ $S^1$ om.

2. *Simeon, because the Lord had heard her prayer.* This play on the name "Simeon" is derived from Gen. xxix. 33 כי שמע יהוה . . . ותקרא שמו שמעון.

And my liver was immovable,
And my bowels without compassion.

5. Because valour also has been given from the Most High to men in soul and body. 6. For in the time of my youth I was jealous ⌜in many things⌝ of Joseph, because my father loved him ⌜beyond all⌝. 7. And I set my mind against him to destroy him, because the prince of deceit sent forth the spirit of jealousy and blinded my mind, so that I regarded him not as a brother, nor did I spare even Jacob my father. 8. But his God and the God of his fathers sent forth His angel, and delivered him out of my hands. 9. For when I went to Shechem to bring ointment for the flocks, and Reuben to Dothan, where were our necessaries and all our stores, Judah my brother sold him to the Ishmaelites. 10. And when Reuben heard these things he was grieved, for he wished to restore him to his father. 11. But on hearing this I was ⌜exceedingly⌝

4. *Liver . . . immovable.* According to T. Reub. iii. 4 the spirit of war dwells in the liver.

6. *For* ("therefore" *a e f*) *in the time of my youth* (*a a e f*). *b d g* A $S^1$ "and at that time."

*In many things* (*a*). *β* A S om.

*Jealous of Joseph.* Cf. iv. 2, 3. The Targ. Ps.-Jon. on Gen. xxxvii. 19, 20 attributes these verses to Simeon and Levi: "Simeon and Levi, who were brothers, in counsel, said one to another, . . . Come, let us kill him." Also on xlii. 24 we find "(Joseph) took Simeon from them who had given counsel to slay him." Cf. Ber. rabba 91.

*My father* (*a* A). *β-a* $S^1$ read "our father."

⌜*Beyond them all*⌝ (*a*). *β* A $S^1$ omit.

7. *Mind.* Text has ἥπατα. See *v.* 4.

*Prince of deceit.* See note on T. Reub. ii. 1.

*Sent forth the spirit of jealousy and* (*β* A S). *α* reads "and the spirit of jealousy."

*Blinded my mind.* Cf. T. Reub. iii. 8.

*Nor did I spare even* (*a d*). *β-d* A $S^1$ read "and spared not."

8. *God of our fathers* (*a*). *β-d* A $S^1$ read "God of his ("their" $A^{b*cdefg}$) fathers."

*Sent forth his angel and delivered.* This phrase is found in Dan iii. 28, also in Acts xii. 11. Cf. Ps. xxxiv. 7, 8.

9. *Judah . . . sold him,* etc. Cf. Gen. xxxvii. 26-28.

*Reuben to Dothan.* This absence of Reuben explains Gen. xxxvii. 21, where it is said that when Reuben *heard* of their plots against Joseph he delivered him out of the hands of his brothers.

*My brother* (*a*). *β* A $S^1$ read "our brother."

10. *Heard these things* (*c*). So Gen. xxxvii. 21. Here ἀκούσας = בשמעו. *β* A $S^1$ read "came." ἐλθών = בשובו. *h i* are conflate.

*Restore* (ἀπαγαγεῖν *c* $A^{b*cdeg}$ = השיב. Cf. Judg. xix. 3; 1 Sam. vi. 7.) *β-a f* $S^1$ read διασῶσαι = הושיע, corrupt for השיב, as in Gen. xxxvii. 22. $A^{ab}$ is conflate, διασῶσαι καὶ ἀπαγαγεῖν.

11. *On hearing these things* (*a*). *β* $A^{b*cdefg}$ $S^1$ om. $A^{abh}$ = ἐλθών—same corruption as in preceding verse.

*Exceedingly* (*a*). *β* A $S^1$ om.

wroth against Judah in that he let him go away alive, and for five months I continued wrathful against him. 12. But the Lord restrained me, and withheld ⌜from me⌝ the power of my hands; for my right hand was half withered for seven days. 13. And I knew, my children, that because of Joseph this had befallen me, and I repented and wept; and I besought the Lord God that my hand might be restored, and that I might hold aloof from all pollution and envy, ⌜and from all folly⌝. 14. For I knew that I had devised an evil thing before the Lord and Jacob my father, on account of Joseph my brother, in that I envied him.

III. And now, my children, ⌜hearken unto me and⌝ beware of the spirit of deceit and of envy. 2. For envy ruleth over the whole mind of a man, and suffereth him ⌜neither to eat nor to drink⌝, nor to do any good thing. 3. But it ever suggesteth (to him) to destroy him that he envieth; and so long as he that is envied flourisheth, he that envieth fadeth away. 4. Two years ⌜therefore⌝ I afflicted my soul with fasting in the fear of the Lord, and I learnt that deliverance from envy cometh by the fear of God. 5. For if a man flee to the Lord, the evil spirit runneth away from him, and his mind is lightened. 6. And henceforward he sympathiseth with him whom he envied and agreeth with those who love him, and so ceaseth from his envy.

IV. And my father asked ⌜concerning me⌝, because he saw

12. *Seven* (*a b d g*). *a e f* $A^{b*cdeg}S^{1}$ read "sixty" (*i.e.* ξ′ for ζ′).

13. *The Lord God* (*a d*). *β-d* A $b*cdegS^{1}$ read "the Lord," $A^{abh}$ "God."

*My hand might be restored* (*a d* $A^{abh}$). *β-b d* read "I might be restored"; *b* $S^{1}$ "He might restore my hand."

III. 1. *Hearken unto me and* (*a*). *β* A S om.

*Spirit* (*a* A $S^{2}$). *β* $S^{1}$ read "spirits."

3. *So long as*, etc. Translation doubtful.

4. *Two years* ⌜*therefore*⌝ (*c* A). *h β* $S^{1}$ read "two years of days."

*Afflicted my soul with fasting.* From Ps. xxxv. 15.

6. *Agreeth with* (*a a e f* $S^{1}$). So I render *συγγινώσκει*. The ordinary meaning "pardons," "makes allowance for," does not suit so well. On the other hand, the reading of *b d g* $A^{b*cde}$ *οὐ καταγινώσκει* supports the latter meaning. Hence the Hebrew text may have been corrupt. *συγγινώσκει* = סלח corrupt (?) for ישמח = "rejoices." This would suit the context, "rejoices over those that love him"; or possibly for ישבח = "commends."

IV. 1. Here the liver is regarded as

that I was sad; and I said unto him, I am pained in my liver. 2. For I mourned more than they all, because I was guilty of the selling of Joseph. 3. And when we went down into Egypt, and he bound me as a spy, I knew that I was suffering justly, and I grieved not. 4. Now Joseph was a good man, and had the Spirit of God within him: being compassionate and pitiful, he bore no malice against me; but loved me even as the rest of his brethren. 5. Beware, therefore, my children, of all jealousy and envy, and walk in singleness of *heart*, soul and with good heart, keeping in mind Joseph your father's brother, that God may give ⌜you also⌝ grace and glory, and blessing upon your heads, even as ye saw in Joseph's case. 6. All his days he reproached us not concerning this thing, but loved us as his own soul, and beyond his own sons glorified us, and gave us riches, and cattle and fruits. 7. Do ye also, my children, love each one his brother with a good heart, and the spirit of envy will withdraw from you. 8. For this maketh savage the soul and destroyeth the body; it causes anger and war in the mind, and stirreth up unto deeds of blood,

*β* A S[1]

the source of physical ailment. On the liver as the source of ethical evils, see ii. 4; T. Naph. ii. 8.

*Unto him* (*c d* A[b*cdeg]). *β-d* A[abh] S[1] omit.

2-3. See note on ii. 6.

4. Here Joseph is commended, as in all the Testaments save that of Naph. Cf. T. Reub. iv. 8-10.

*As the rest of his brethren* (*β* A[abh] S[1]). *α* reads "with my brethren."

5. *Singleness of heart.* Phrase recurs in Eph. vi. 5; Col. iii. 22. ἁπλότης is confined to Pauline Epistles in N.T. See note on T. Iss. iii. 2.

*Of heart* (*α*). *β* A S[1] read "soul and (A[ah] om.) with good (A[ahb*cdeg] read "pure," A[b] om.) heart, keeping in mind Joseph (*b* om.) your father's brother" (for πατράδελφον A reads ἀδελφόν). *α* om. "keeping . . . brother." *d* is corrupt.

*Joseph's case* (*α* A). *β* S[1] read "his case."

6. *Gave . . . riches*, etc. Cf. Gen. xlvii. 11, 12.

*Us* (*α*). *β* A S[1] read "us all."

7. *Love each one his brother.* Cf. T. Reub. vi. 9.

*The spirit of envy will withdraw* (ἀποστήσεται) *from you* (*a g* A[b*cdefg]). *β-e g* S[1] read "put away (ἀποστήσατε) the spirit of envy."

| α | β A$^{\beta}$ S$^{1}$ |
|---|---|
| and leadeth the mind into frenzy, | and leadeth the mind into frenzy, ⌜and suffereth not prudence to act in men;⌝ moreover, it taketh away sleep, |

[and causeth tumult to the soul and trembling to the body]. 9. For even in sleep some malicious jealousy, deluding him, gnaweth, and with wicked spirits disturbeth his soul, and causeth the body to be troubled, and waketh the mind from sleep in confusion; and as a wicked and poisonous spirit, so appeareth it to men.

V. Therefore was Joseph comely in appearance, and goodly to look upon, because no wickedness dwelt in him; for some of the trouble of the spirit the face manifesteth. 2. And now, my children,

Make your hearts good before the Lord,
And your ways straight before men,
And ye shall find grace before the Lord and men.

3. Beware, therefore, of fornication,
For fornication is mother of all evils,
Separating from God, and bringing near to Beliar.

8. *Frenzy.* β A$^{\beta}$ S$^{1}$ add "⌜and suffereth not prudence to act in men:⌝ moreover, it taketh away sleep" (*a f* om. "moreover . . . sleep"). The latter phrase recurs with a different verb in T. Jud. xviii. 4.

*And causeth tumult . . . body.* These two clauses form an anticlimax to what goes before, and are bracketed as a dittography of the first two clauses. Thus κλόνον παρέχει τῇ ψύχῃ καὶ τρόμον τῷ σώματι = וירגיז הנפש וירעיר הגוף. Here the first clause of the Hebrew could also be rendered ἀγριοῖ τὴν ψυχήν, while יזיר could be corrupt for יאבר = φθείρει.

9. Cf. Sir. xl. 5-7.

*Waketh* (διυπνίζει *c*). *h* β S διυπνίζεσθαι "to awake." A internally corrupt.

V. 1. *Comely in appearance,* etc. (ὡραῖος τῷ εἴδει καὶ καλὸς τῇ ὄψει). From Gen. xxxix. 6. Here the LXX has καλὸς τῷ εἴδει καὶ ὡραῖος τῇ ὄψει.

*Dwelt* (ἐνοίκησεν). *c d* read ἐνίκησεν.

2. *Grace before the Lord and men.* See T. Reub. iv. 8. For "the Lord" (so α) β-*d g* S$^{1}$ read "God"

3. *Beware of fornication.* Cf. T. Reub. vi. 1.

*All evils* (β A S$^{1}$). α reads "evils."

*Separating from God,* etc. See T. Reub. iv. 6.

4. For I have seen it inscribed in the writing of Enoch that your sons shall be corrupted in fornication, and shall do harm to the sons of Levi with the sword. 5. But they shall not be able to withstand Levi; for he shall wage the war of the Lord, and shall conquer [all] your hosts. 6. And they shall be few in number, divided in Levi and Judah, and there shall be none of you for sovereignty, even as also our father prophesied in his blessings.

VI. Behold I have told you all things, that I may be acquitted of your sin. 2. Now, if ye remove from you your envy and all stiff-neckedness,

As a rose shall my bones flourish in Israel,
And as a lily my flesh in Jacob,
And my odour shall be as the odour of Libanus;

And as cedars shall holy ones be multiplied from me for ever,
And their branches shall stretch afar off.

4. *In the writing of Enoch.* Cf. T. Levi x. 5, xiv. 1, xvi. 1; T. Jud. xviii. 1; T. Dan v. 6; T. Naph. iv. 1; T. Benj. ix. 1. It is possible that some such statement as to the moral deterioriation of Israel was found in the early Enochic writing. A similar statement to that in our text, but referring to the Antediluvians, is found in 2 Enoch xxxiv. 2.

*Do harm to the sons of Levi* (*a*. τοῖς υἱοῖς Λευὶ ἀδικήσουσι). This construction may be a Hebraism = ירעו לבני לוי. *β-g* A S read ἐν Λευὶ ἀδ. = ירעו בלוי. This construction is found in Hebrew and LXX in 1 Chron. xvi. 22. On the subject-matter see T. Reub. vi. 5.

5. *Be able to withstand Levi* (*a* A). *β* S read "prevail against." Cf. T. Reub. vi. 5.

*Shall wage the war of the Lord.* The reference is obviously to the Maccabean warrior high priests. Cf. T. Reub. vi. 12.

6. *And they shall be few in number, divided in Levi and Judah.* The text is based on Gen. xlix. 7, "I will divide them (Simeon and Levi) in Jacob and disperse them in Israel." This curse is applied by our author to Simeon only. He cannot do other than bless Levi. The destruction of Shechem, moreover, which drew down the curse in Gen. xlix. 6-7, is attributed in the main to Levi (see T. Levi vi.), and for this deed, despite Gen. xlix. 6-7, he is highly extolled in Jub. xxx. 18-23; nay, more, he is represented as being divinely commended in T. Levi v., and yet this curse is most inconsistently made to light on Simeon in the present context. As a rule, during the two centuries preceding the Christian era, the action of Simeon and Levi was highly commended, but later rabbinic tradition judged more in accordance with the sentence pronounced in Gen. xlix. 6-7. See my note on Jub. xxx. 2-6; Gunkel on Gen. xxxiv.

*There shall be none of you for sovereignty.* I cannot discover how this statement is connected with Gen. xlix. 6-7.

*Our father* (*a* A). *a b d* read "my father. *β* A$^{abhefg}$ add "Jacob."

VI. 1. *Told* (*a* A). *β* S$^{l}$ read "foretold."

*Acquitted of your sin* (δικαιώθω ἀπὸ τῆς ἁμαρτίας ὑμῶν). Cf. T. Levi xiv. 2.

*Your sin* (*a* $e^{l}$ A$^{b*cdeg}$). *β-e* S read 'sin of your souls."

2. *As cedars. a* om. Cf. Ps. lxxx. 10.

3. Then shall perish the seed of Canaan,
And a remnant shall not be unto Amalek,
[And all the Cappadocians shall perish,]
And all the Hittites shall be utterly destroyed.

4. Then shall fail the land of Ham,
And all the people shall perish.

Then shall all the earth rest from trouble,
And all the world under heaven from war.

| Restored Text | $A^{abh}$ |
|---|---|
| 5. Then the Mighty One of Israel shall glorify Shem,<br>For the Lord God shall appear on earth,<br>And save the sons of men. | 5. Then shall Shem (MSS. "Seth") be glorified,<br>For the Lord our God shall appear on earth [as man]<br>And Himself saves again. |

3. This verse foretells the destruction of Israel's enemies, the Canaanites, Amalekites, Cappadocians (*i.e.* כפתרים, "Philistines." Cf. Deut. ii. 23; Amos ix. 7; and see my note on Jub. xxiv. 29), and Hittites (or Macedonians).

*Hittites.* Χετταῖοι may represent either חתי "Hittites," or כתים "Greeks" or "Macedonians."

4. *All the people will perish.* These words seem to point to the woes preceding the advent of the kingdom.

5-8. God appears in person to save mankind: the evil spirits are reduced to submission, and the resurrection of the righteous takes place.

5. For other references to Theophanies see T. Lev. ii. 11, v. 2, viii. 11; T. Jud. xxii. 2; T. Zeb. ix. 8; T. Naph. viii. 3; T. Ash. vii. 3.

Restored from the various texts and versions. $\alpha$ = "Then shall a sign be glorified greatly (?) unto Israel (*τὸ σημεῖον ἐνδοξασθήσεται μέγα τῷ* 'Ισ.), For the Lord God appearing on earth shall come [as man], And saving through him man" (*ἐν αὐτῷ τὸν* 'Αδάμ). $A^{abh}$ = "Then shall Seth (corrupt for "Shem") be glorified, For the Lord our God shall appear on earth [as man], And Himself saves again" (corrupt). $A^{b*cdeg}$ "And ($A^{g}$ om.) then shall Shem be glorified, For the Lord the Mighty One of Israel shall [be glorified] on earth, [and] appear [as man]." $\beta$ S = "Then the sign (*b d* Shem) shall be glorified, For the Lord God the Mighty One of Israel appearing on earth [as man], And saving through him man" (*ἐν αὐτῷ τὸν* 'Αδάμ).

First of all, *μέγα τῷ* 'Ισραήλ in $\alpha$, if original, is corrupt for *μέγας τοῦ* 'I., as in $\beta$ $A^{b*cdeg}$S, but these latter authorities appear to transpose this phrase wrongly into the second line. If *μέγας τοῦ* 'I. belongs to the first line, *ἐνδοξασθήσεται* cannot be right. It = יִכָּבֵד, for which the translator should have read יִכְבַּד = *δοξάσει*. Secondly, Σήμ (*b d* $A^{b*cdefg}$) must apparently be accepted against *σημεῖον*. If the latter is the older reading in the Greek, then it may = צִיּוֹן, corrupt for צִיּוֹן, *i.e.* "Zion." Thirdly, as Gaster has pointed out, *ἐν αὐτῷ* (*a b* $e^{1}$ *f g*) *τὸν* 'Αδάμ = בו האדם, where I take בו to be corrupt for לו, in which case it is to be rendered "for Himself" or treated as a redundant expression of the pronoun before the noun (an Aramaism but found in

6. Then shall all the spirits of deceit be given to be trodden
under foot,
And men shall rule over wicked spirits.

7. Then shall I arise in joy,
And will bless the Most High because of His marvellous
works,
[Because God hath taken a body and eaten with men
and saved men].

VII. And now, my children, obey Levi and Judah, and be not lifted up against these two tribes, for from them shall arise unto you the salvation ⌜of God⌝. 2. For the Lord shall raise up from Levi as it were a High-priest, and from Judah as it were a King [God and man], He shall save all [the Gentiles and] the race of Israel. 3. Therefore I give you these commands that ye also may command your children, that they may observe them throughout their generations.

Hebrew. Cf. Gen. ii. 19; Exod. ii. 6, etc.). Observe that the third line is wanting in $A^{b*}$cdeg and corrupt in $A^{abh}$. Fourthly, "as man" must be rejected as a Christian interpolation.

But "the Mighty One of Israel" may be an interpolation. It is omitted by $A^{abh}$. In that case we should render

"Then Shem shall be glorified,
For the Lord God shall appear
upon earth
And save the sons of men."

Thus our text describes a primitive view of the Messianic kingdom, such as is found in 1 Enoch xxv. 3, lxxvii. 1. The scene of the kingdom is to be the present earth, and its duration is apparently eternal. Into this kingdom the righteous dead are to enter through the resurrection.

6. This verse, it can hardly be doubted, is the source of Luke x. 19, 20 *δέδωκα ὑμῖν τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ πατεῖν . . . ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ ἐχθροῦ . . . πλὴν ἐν τούτῳ μὴ χαίρετε ὅτι τὰ πνεύματα ὑμῖν ὑποτάσσεται.* Cf. T. Lev. xviii. 12.

7. The resurrection is here to the present earth. Cf. T. Benj. x. 7.

*Shall I arise.* A = "shall we arise."

*Because God hath taken a body and eaten with men.* A similar Christian interpolation appears in T. Ash. vii. 3. In both these "eating and drinking" are ascribed to the Most High. Other undoubted interpolations will be found in T. Dan v. 13*d*, vi. 9. On the other hand, as such expressions as God "dwelling with men" or "walking with men" are justified by the O.T., there is no objection to these phrases in themselves in T. Iss. vii. 7; T. Dan v. 13*c*; T. Naph. viii. 3; but the context seems to be against them.

VII. 1. *And Judah* (*c*). *hβ* A S read "and in Judah shall ye ($A^{b*}$cdefg "we") be redeemed."

*Be not lifted up against.* Cf. T. Reub. vi. 5 "ye will seek to be exalted over them."

*Tribes.* A reads "brothers."

*From them shall arise unto you salvation.* See note on T. Reub. vi. 5-12.

2. Here only (and in T. Napt. viii. 2?) in the Testaments is the jurisdiction of Levi limited to the priesthood.

*All the Gentiles.* For grounds of excision see note on T. Benj. ix. 2.

VIII. And when Simeon had made an end of commanding his sons, he slept with his fathers, being an hundred and twenty years old. 2. And they laid him in a wooden coffin, to take up his bones to Hebron. And they took them up secretly during a war of the Egyptians. 3. For the bones of Joseph the Egyptians guarded in the tombs of the Kings. 4. For the sorcerers told them, that on the departure of the bones of Joseph there should be throughout all the land darkness and gloom, and an exceeding great plague to the Egyptians, so that even with a lamp a man should not recognise his brother.

IX. And the sons of Simeon bewailed their father. 2. And they were in Egypt until the day of their departure by the hand of Moses.

VIII. *And when* (*c g* $A^{b}$). *h i β-d g* $A^{ab*cdefg}S^{1}$ read "And," and add "and" before "he slept."

*Hundred and twenty.* See i. 1.

2. *Wooden coffin* (*α* $A^{b*cdefg}$). *β-g* $A^{abh}S$ read "coffin of incorruptible wood." For latter phrase cf. Is. xl. 20, עץ לא ירקב.

*Take up his bones* (*β-d g* $A^{b*cdeg}S$). *α d* $A^{ab}$ read "take him up."

*To Hebron.* So also in Levi.

*Them up secretly during a war of the Egyptians* (*β* A S). *α* reads "him up secretly his bones" (sic). This war is again referred to in T. Benj. xii. 3, where see note.

3. *Tombs* (*α*). *β* $A^{\beta}$ S read "treasure houses." According to Ps.-Jon. on Gen. l. 26, "they embalmed him (Joseph) and placed him in a coffin, and sank him in the middle of the Nile of Egypt." Cf. Exod. rabba xx. 17. But according to R. Nathan Joseph was buried in the palace of Pharaoh. See *Jewish Encyc.* vii. 251.

*All the land* (*α* $A^{abcdefg}$). *a d e f* read "all the land of Egypt"; *b* $A^{b*}S^{1}$ "all Egypt."

*Great* (*α*). *β* $A^{\beta}$ read "exceeding great."

*Recognise. d* $A^{\beta}$ read "be able to recognise."

IX. *Their father. β* $S^{1}$ add "according to the law of mourning."

*Their departure. β* $S^{1}$ add "from Egypt."

# THE TESTAMENT OF LEVI, THE THIRD SON OF JACOB AND LEAH

I. The copy of the words of Levi, the things which he ordained unto his sons, according to all that they should do, and what things should befall them until the day of judgment. 2. He was sound in health when he called them to him; for it had been revealed to him that he should die. And when they were gathered together he said to them:

II. I, Levi, was born in Haran, and I came with my father to Shechem. 2. And I was young, about twenty years of age, when, with Simeon, I wrought vengeance on Hamor for our sister Dinah. 3. And when I was feeding the flocks in Abel-Maul, the spirit of understanding of the Lord came upon me, and I saw all men corrupting their way, and that unrighteousness had built for itself

Title. So $\alpha$. $\beta$-$ade$ A S read "Test. of Levi concerning the priesthood" (+ "and arrogance," $bf$ $A^{cdefg}$), $de$ $A^{b*}$ "Test. of Levi third ($e$ $A^{b*}$ om.) son of Jacob concerning the priesthood and arrogance."

*His sons* ($\alpha$ $ab$). $\beta$-$ab$ A S add "before his death."

*What should befall them.* Cf. Gen. xlix. 1 for phrase.

II. *Born in Haran* ($\alpha$ $A^{abh}$). $\beta$ $A^{b*cdefg}$ (S ?) read "conceived in Haran and born there." For "in Haran," however, $h$ $e$ $g$ A S read ἐν χαρᾷ "in joy." Even $c$ $d$ $f$ give ἐν Χαρρα.

*And I came* ($\alpha$ $A^{abh}$). $\beta$ $A^{cdeg}$ $S^2$ read "And after that I came."

2. *About twenty years.* Since, according to T. Levi xii. 5, Levi was eighteen when Dinah was avenged Simeon was two years older than Levi. According to Jub. xxviii. 13, 14 the exact difference in age was two years and two months. $\alpha$ reads "and then" for "when" ($\beta$ A S).

3. *Abel-Maul* = Ἀβελμαούλ. This is the Abel-meholah of the O.T. Cf. Judg. vii. 22; 1 K. iv. 12, etc. According to Eusebius and Jerome it lay ten Roman miles to the S. of Scythopolis (Bethshean). See *Encyc. Bib.* i. 7.

*Corrupting their way.* Cf. Gen. vi. 12 for phrase. $A^{abh}$ omit rest of verse and the first twelve words of ver. 4.

*That unrighteousness . . . towers* ($\beta$ $A^{cdeg}$ $S^1$). $\alpha$ reads "sin was built

walls, and lawlessness sat upon towers. 4. And I was grieving for the race of the sons of men, and I prayed to the Lord that I might be saved. 5. Then there fell upon me a sleep, and I beheld a high mountain, and I was upon it. 6. And behold the heavens were opened, and an angel of God said to me, Levi, enter.

| $\alpha$ | $A\alpha$ | $\beta$, $A\beta$, $S^1$ |
|---|---|---|
| 7. And I entered from the first heaven, | 7. And when I had entered into the first | 7. And I entered from the first heaven |

upon (*οἰκοδομεῖτο*) a wall and unrighteousness sat upon towers." Cf. 1 En. xci. 5 "the righteousness will come to an end . . . and its whole building will be destroyed."

*Unrighteousness . . . lawlessness.* Our author seems to have had Zech. v. 8-11 in his mind. There two women in the prophet's vision go forth to build a house in Shinar for wickedness.

4. *The race of the sons of men* ($a\,d\,f\,g$). $b\,e$ S read "the race of men."

5. *And I was upon it* ($a$ $A^{abh}$ save that for "it" $A^{abh}$ read "the mountain"). $\beta$ $A^{b*g}$ S read "this is the mountain of the shield ($g$ $A^{b*fg}$ "shields") in Abelmaul." On the situation of this mountain see vi. 1.

II. 7–III. We have here a remarkable instance of variation between the two recensions. The variation, moreover, is due to a deliberate redaction of the text (as Lueken, *Michael*, 92-94, was the first to recognise, and subsequently Bousset, though they have misinterpreted the details), in the course of which an original description of the three heavens was transformed into a description of the seven. Happily this redaction was not fully carried out in the case of $\alpha$, and even in the case of $\beta$ $A^{\beta}$ $S^1$ it is easy to detect the hand of the redactor. This is easiest in chap. ii. In ii. 7 ($\alpha$) Levi sees much water in the first heaven, but $\beta$ $A^{\beta}$ $S^1$ transpose this into the region between the first and the second heavens and thus creates two heavens out of one. Next the second heaven of $\alpha$ (ii. 8) is transformed into the third heaven of $\beta$ $A^{\beta}$ $S^1$ (ii. 8). Again in ii. 9-10 ($\alpha$) we have a reference to the third heaven in which God dwells but in $\beta$ $A^{\beta}$ $S^1$ this reference relates to the four higher heavens, in the highest of which, we must infer, God has His abode. Here the clumsiness of the redacted text becomes apparent; for whereas the "thither" (*ἐκεῖ*) in ii. 9 ($\alpha$) refers to God's abode in the third heaven plainly mentioned in ii. 10, in the text of $\beta$ $A^{\beta}$ $S^1$ the same word can only refer to the four heavens definitely put forward in ii. 10. In ii. 10 indeed all recensions point to a single heaven where Levi is to stand near God. The redactor should have changed the "there" into "the highest of these" or some like phrase in order to give consistency to his text.

In iii. 1-8 the redaction has been carried out more thoroughly, though even there iii. 1-4 ($\alpha$) has escaped its influence. In iii. 1-4 ($\alpha$) there is an account of the three heavens, in the third of which God dwells. When we turn to $\beta$ $A^{\beta}$ $S^1$ what is ascribed in $\alpha$ to the first heaven is said of the first and second heaven in $\beta$ $A^{\beta}$ $S^1$. What is ascribed in $\alpha$ to the second is ascribed by $\beta$ $A^{\beta}$ $S^1$ to the third (and fourth ?). But in iii. 5-8 all the texts alike have suffered. In $\alpha$, originally, these verses enumerated the various classes of angels in the third heaven, whereas now both $\alpha$ and $\beta$ $A^{\beta}$ $S^1$ distribute these classes among the sixth, fifth and fourth heavens. In iii. 4-8 the reader will observe that the order of description is reversed. This awkwardness is due to the fact that the redactor could not proceed with the original order of description unless by a complete rewriting of the text.

and I saw there a great sea hanging.

8. And further I saw a second heaven far brighter and more brilliant, for there was a boundless †height also therein.

heaven. 8. †and he escorted raised me† to the second. 7. And I saw there a great sea hanging.

into the second, and I saw there a sea hanging between the one and the other.

8. And further I saw a third heaven far brighter and more brilliant than these two; for there was also a boundless †height therein.

The next question that arises concerns the date and language of the redactor. To this there can be no conclusive answer. It is, however, not improbable that the above redaction was made in the Hebrew. The doctrine of the seven heavens was current in Judaism before and after the Christian era. Thus it is given in a very elaborate form in 2 Enoch. It is taught in the Talmud, Chag. 12b, Ber. rabba c. 6. It appears to be implied in 4 Ezra vi. 81-87. In Christian apocalypses, which are founded in this respect on Jewish, the doctrine finds utterance, such as the Ascension of Isaiah, the Apocalypses of Moses, Ezra, John, Isaac, Jacob, Zephaniah (see at length my edition of 2 En. Introd. xxx–xlvii). Thus the possibility of this redaction of our text in Hebrew may be regarded as established. But more than that can hardly be proved. But though it may be impossible to prove that the redaction originated in Hebrew, we can prove at all events that $\alpha$ and $\beta$ are here as elsewhere independent versions of the Hebrew. Thus in iii. 1 *στύγνος* ($\alpha$) over against *στυγνότερος* ($\beta$), iii. 2 *ἡτοιμασμένον εἰς ἡμέραν κρίσεως* ($\alpha$) over against *ἕτοιμα εἰς ἡμέραν προστάγματος* ($\beta$), iii. 6 *θυσίαν* ($\alpha$) over against *προσφοράν* in $\beta$, iii. 9 *τρέμομεν* ($\alpha$) over against *σαλεύομεθα* in $\beta$ can hardly be explained otherwise. On the other hand the multitudinous resemblances point to the fact that the translator of $\beta$ made use of the translation of $\alpha$.

7. The original form of the text is preserved in $\alpha$ alone. For a further account of this heaven, see iii. 1, 2. $A^{\alpha}$ is corrupt and rendered exactly as it stands. According to $\beta$ $A^{\beta}$ $S^{1}$ the first heaven is empty. This agrees with the description of the first of the seven heavens in the Talmud which consisted merely of a curtain (וילון). When this was rolled up the light of the second heaven (רקיע) became visible (Ber. 58b).

*Great Sea.* The waters here referred to are the waters above the firmament. Cf. Gen. i. 7; Ps. cxlviii. 4; Rev. iv. 6, xv. 2. According to Jub. ii. 4 these were separated from the waters below the firmament (*ἐν δὲ τῇ δευτέρᾳ . . . ἐμερίσθη τὰ ὕδατα, τὸ ἥμισυ αὐτῶν ἀνέβη ἐπάνω τοῦ στεώματος*, Epiph. *Haer.* lxv. 4). These waters were masculine according to 1 En. liv. 8, and the waters on the earth feminine. From their union according to Assyrian myths the gods were produced.

*Hanging, i.e. κρεμάμενον.* This is a peculiar idea. Could *κρεμάμενον* = מוקיע. If so, this would be corrupt for רקיע or ברקיע = "on the firmament."

8. The only characteristic of the second heaven enforced here is its brightness; for that which was to be found in it see iii. 3. This second heaven appears in $\beta$ $A^{\beta}$ $S^{1}$ as the third.

*A †height also therein.* According to Pesach. 94b (cf. Chag. 13a, Ber. rabba 4, 6) the distance from one heaven

9. And I said to the angel, Why is this so? And the angel said to me, Marvel not at this, for thou shalt see another heaven more brilliant and incomparable.

9. And I said unto him: What is this, Lord? And he said unto me.

9. And I said unto the angel: Wherefore is it so? And the angel said unto me: Marvel not at these; for thou shalt see four other heavens more brilliant and incomparable,

10. And when thou hast ascended thither, Thou shalt stand near the Lord,

10. When thou hast ascended thither, Thou shalt stand before the Lord,

10. When thou hast ascended thither. ⌜Because⌝ thou shalt stand near the Lord,

to another of the seven heavens was a journey of 500 years. But this does not justify the special statement in our text as to the second heaven, nor does the epithet boundless (ἄπειρον) improve matters. Moreover, the sense is wrong. The second heaven is "brighter" because there is a "height in it!" The word "height," ὕψος, therefore appears to be corrupt. ὕψος = גֹּבַהּ, corrupt for גֹּנַהּ = φέγγος or φῶς. This at any rate would explain the brightness of this heaven. According to the Talmudic description (Chag. 12b) of the seven heavens, the sun, moon, and stars were in this heaven. But we can hardly trust to this comparatively late statement to justify our emendation. We have, however, in iii. 3 a sufficient justification, as it states that the "holy ones" dwell in the second heaven. That these should live in the light may be assumed. The righteous are called "spirits of light" (1 En. lxi. 12), "the generation of light" (cviii. 11). Thus, we should read "a boundless light (or "splendour") therein."

10-12. These verses hardly seem to be in their right place. They would read well after iv. 2, both as regards subject-matter and form. The occurrence of verse in this prose description of the heavens is unlikely. Moreover, since iii. 1 says that Levi has already been shown the heavens, we should expect a short description of the third heaven instead of the present text in 10-12. But these inconsistencies may be due to the writer and not to transpositions of the text; for, according to v. 1, it was not until the angel had spoken as in ii. 20–iv. that Levi entered the third heaven.

10. *And when . . . thither.* β S[1] om. "and" and connect these words with the preceding sentence. Aβ reads "for when . . . thither."

If the text of α is right, this verse promises Levi's ordination to the priesthood when he has ascended into the third heaven. In v. 1, 2 this promise is duly fulfilled. God Himself appoints Levi to the priesthood.

*Thou shalt stand.* β S[1] but not Aβ insert "because" (ὅτι) before these words.

*Stand near the Lord and shalt be His minister.* These words designate Levi's ordination to the priesthood: cf. Deut. x. 8, xviii. 11.; 2 Chron. xxix. 11. They occur in Isaac's blessing of Levi, Jub. xxxi. 14.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| And shalt be His minister,<br>And shalt declare His mysteries to men,<br>And shalt proclaim †concerning Him that shall redeem† Israel. | And shalt be His minister,<br>And His coming mysteries thou shalt declare unto men. | And shalt be His minister,<br>And His mysteries shalt thou declare to men,<br>And shalt proclaim concerning the redemption of Israel. |

11. And by thee and Judah shall the Lord appear among men,
    [Saving every race of men].
12. And from the Lord's portion shall be thy life,
    And He shall be thy field and vineyard,
    And fruits, gold, and silver.

| $\alpha$ | $A_\alpha$ | $\beta$, $A_\beta$, $S^1$ |
|---|---|---|
| III. Hear, therefore, regarding the heavens which have been shown to thee. The lowest is for this cause | III. Hear, therefore, regarding the heavens which were shown to thee. The first heaven is for this | III. Hear, therefore, regarding the seven heavens. The lowest is for this cause gloomier, since it be- |

*Concerning the redemption of Israel.* So $A^\beta$. $\alpha\,\beta$ S are modified in a Christian sense and read τοῦ μέλλοντος λυτροῦσθαι τὸν Ἰ. $A^\alpha$ om.

11. *By thee and Judah*, etc. See note on T. Reub. vi. 5-12.

*Appear among men.* According to the older view of second century Judaism, God was to appear on earth and dwell with men T. Sim. vi. 5 (see note); T. Lev. v. 2 (cf. 1 En. xxv. 3, lxxvii. 1).

*Saving every race of men.* This line is omitted by A, but as it is found in T. Sim. vi. 5 ($\alpha\,\beta$ S) we may regard it as genuine. After "saving" MSS add ἐν ἑαυτῷ or ἑαυτῷ, which might be explained as in T. Sim. vi. 5 (see note on p. 23).

12. *From the Lord's portion*, etc. See viii. 16 (note). In Deut. xxxii. 9; Sir. xvii. 17 Israel is said to be the μέρις κυρίου. Cf. also Pss. Sol. xiv. 3.

III. 1. *Gloomy because it beholds*, etc. This idea has been reproduced in the Greek Apoc. Baruch viii. (ed. James, *Texts and Studies*) and applied to the sun. τέσσαρες ἄγγελοι . . . ἀνακαινίζουσιν αὐτὸν (τὸν στέφανον τοῦ ἡλίου) διὰ τὸ μεμολύνθαι αὐτὸν καὶ τὰς ἀκτῖνας αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς . . . θεωρῶν τὰς ἀνομίας καὶ τὰς ἀδικίας τῶν ἀνθρώπων . . . μολύνεται. Apoc. Esdrae ὁ οὐρανὸς τί ἥμαρτεν; ἐπειδὴ ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανόν ἐστιν τὸ κακόν. Apoc. Pauli 4 Multum etenim sol quidem, luminare magnum, interpellavit dominum, dicens: Domine deus omnipotens, ego prospicio super impietates et injusticias hominum. See James, *Texts and Studies*, V. i. 67 (Introd.).

gloomy unto thee, in that it beholds all the unrighteous deeds of men.

2. And it has fire, snow, and ice made ready for the day of judgment, in the righteous judgment of God; for in it are all the spirits of the retributions for vengeance on †men.

3. And in the second are the hosts of the

cause gloomy unto thee, since it beholds the unrighteous deeds of men.

2. And the second hath fire and snow and ice made ready for the day of the ordinances.

holds [all] the unrighteous deeds of men.

2. The second has fire, snow, ice ready for the day of the ordinance of the Lord in the righteous judgment of God. In it are all the spirits of the retributions for vengeance on the lawless.

3. In the third are the hosts of the

2. The first heaven according to *α* contains the instruments of punishment for wicked men.

*Fire, snow and ice made ready*, etc. The treasuries of the ice and snow as well as the great sea (ii. 7) are also in the first heaven according to 2 En. iii. 3, v. 1. Hence this latter work was apparently acquainted with the *α* recension and not with the *β*, which transposes the "fire, snow and ice" into the second heaven.

It can hardly be a mere coincidence that we find in Sir. xxxix. 29 *πῦρ καὶ χάλαξα καὶ λιμὸς καὶ θάνατος, πάντα ταῦτα εἰς ἐκδίκησιν ἔκτισται.* That these words were before our author may with still more likelihood be inferred, when we pass on to the next statement, "the spirits of the retributions for vengeance on the lawless," *i.e. τὰ πνεύματα τῶν ἐπαγωγῶν εἰς ἐκδίκησιν τῶν ἀνόμων* ($\beta A^{\beta} S$), and compare it with Sir. xxxix. 28, 30 *ἔστιν πνεύματα ἃ εἰς ἐκδίκησιν ἔκτισται . . . καὶ ῥομφαία ἐκδικοῦσα εἰς ὄλεθρον ἀσεβεῖς*, and xl. 9, 10 *ἐπαγωγαὶ λιμὸς καὶ σύντριμμα καὶ μάστιξ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνόμους ἐκτίσθη ταῦτα πάντα.* In xxxix. 28-30 Sirach enumerates the natural phenomena which are created for punishing the ungodly, and it is probable that it is only to such natural phenomena that our text refers. If so, instead of "spirits" we should render "winds." What was the Hebrew behind *ἐπαγωγῶν* cannot be determined with any certainty. In Sir. v. 8 it is a rendering of עברה="wrath." This would suit our context. For equivalent expressions cf. Jer. li. 1 "destroying (משחית) wind," Ezek. xiii. 13 "stormy (סערות) wind." On the other hand the analogy of ver. 3 suggests that our author took *πνεύματα* as spiritual beings.

*And in it* (*d* $A^{\beta}$). *α* reads "for in it," $\beta S^{1}$ "in it."

*Lawless* (*ἀνόμων*). So $\beta A^{\beta} S$. *α* reads *ἀνθρώπων*, *i.e. ανπων* a corruption of *ἀνόμων*, "the lawless." Cf. Sir. xl. 10 *ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνόμους ἐκτίσθη πάντα ταῦτα.*

3. The second heaven contains the angelic armies who are to destroy Beliar and his angels.

*Hosts of the armies*, etc. Such an

armies which are ordained for the day of judgment, to work vengeance on the spirits of deceit and of Beliar. And above them are the holy ones.

armies which are ordained for the day of judgment, to work vengeance on the spirits of deceit and of Beliar. †And those in the fourth† who are above these are holy.

armed host is found in the fourth heaven according to 2 En. xvii., but their office is different.

*And above them are the holy ones* (καὶ ἐπ' αὐτούς εἰσιν οἱ ἅγιοι). So *a* (for *β* $S^1$ see below). The language would most naturally point to the angels. They may also mean the spirits of the departed righteous, and in this case we might compare Jub. xxiii. 31, where, after enjoying life in the Messianic kingdom on earth, and dying, it states—

And their bones will rest on the earth,
And their spirits will have much joy.

But in Jubilees there is no resurrection of the body, whereas this is taught throughout the Testaments. Whether the author of the former believed in an intermediate abode is nowhere stated, but such must have been the belief of the author of the Testaments, since the departed faithful were to rise in the body to enjoy the Messianic kingdom on earth, and the intermediate abode could hardly have been heaven—even the second heaven. Hence the holy ones in the second heaven here are most probably to be regarded as "angels." The higher classes of angels are in the third heaven. As a rule at this date in Palestinian Judaism the righteous departed were not regarded as dwelling in heaven, but in the intermediate abode of souls, Sheol: cf. 1 En. xxii. 4-9, li. 1; c. 5 (cf. 4 Ezra iv. 41), 2 Macc. vi. 23. Again the first time that heaven is categorically described as the abode of the blessed after the final judgment is to be found in 1 En. civ. 2, ciii. 4, 6, xli. 2, li. 4—that is some time between 100-50 B.C.

†*And those in the fourth*† *who are above these are holy* [οἱ δὲ εἰς τὸν τέταρτον οἱ (*b g* om.) ἐπάνω τούτων (*d g* om. ἐπ. τούτ.) ἅγιοί εἰσιν]. So *β* $S^1$. So $A^β$ though slightly corrupt and adding τοῦ θεοῦ after ἅγιοι. If the text—I mean the redacted text of *β*—is rightly attested here, then this clause deals with the denizens of the fourth heaven. But if so, then we have a double description of them; for they are described in ver. 8 also, and since ver. 4 speaks of the seventh heaven, ver. 5 of the sixth, ver. 7 of the fifth, then ver. 8 rightly deals with the fourth. Hence, if there is any error it is in the closing words of ver. 3. Again, if these words are rightly handed down, how are we to explain the "for" with which ver. 4 begins. On these grounds I have obelized the clause in question. The corruption appears to lie in the words οἱ δὲ εἰς τὸν τέταρτον. These = ושברביעי which I take to be corrupt for והארבעה = καὶ οἱ τέσσαρες. Thus the text would run: "And the four heavens above them are holy." Thus in *β* there is no reference to "holy ones" in the fourth heaven. The text merely contrasts the character of the lower three heavens and of the four highest. Having thus declared that holiness is the characteristic of the four highest heavens he proceeds to enumerate them beginning with the most holy, *i.e.* the seventh.

4. And in the highest of all dwelleth the Great Glory, far above all holiness.

5. In [the heaven next to] it are the archangels, who minister and make propitiation to the Lord

4. And †the Holy One of the holy ones† is above all holiness.

5. And the hosts of the angels are ministering,

4. For in the highest of all dwelleth the Great Glory, in the holy of holies, far above all holiness.

5. And in [the heaven next to] it are the angels of the presence of the Lord, who minister and make

4. *The highest of all, i.e.* the seventh heaven.

*The Great Glory.* This phrase is found in 1 En. xiv. 20, cii. 3; God is "the king of glory" Ps. xxiv. 7, 8, 9. He is surrounded with glory, Exod. xxiv. 16, etc. He is the "Lord of glory" 1 En. xxv. 3, 7, and will sit on the "throne of glory" 1 En. xlvii. 3.

5-8. In these verses even *α* has undergone redaction, and what was originally an enumeration of the angels in the third heaven has become an enumeration of the angels in the sixth, fifth and fourth heavens; for the redactor having just mentioned the seventh heaven naturally proceeds to the sixth, then to the fifth, and finally to the fourth. In the sixth are the highest orders of angels offering sacrifice: in the fifth are the angels who present the prayers (see note *in loc.*), and in the fourth the angels who sang the praises of God.

5. †*In the heaven next to it*†, *i.e.* the sixth heaven. This and similar clauses in 7, 8 are, as we have shown (p. 27, note), additions to the text. The fact that this propitiation takes place in the fourth heaven, Chag. 12$^{b}$, does not make against the text, since the account in the latter is very much later than that in our text.

*Minister and make propitiation* (λειτουργοῦντες καὶ ἐξιλασκόμενοι). Since according to Exod. xxv. 9, 40; Num. viii. 4 the earthly altar and tabernacle were made after the likeness of heavenly patterns or originals—a view which recurs in Heb. viii. 5, ix. 23—the idea of a sacrificial service in heaven must have been familiar to Judaism long before the composition of the Testaments. According to our text this service was rendered by the angels of the presence in the sixth heaven. Later views took divergent lines. No two independent accounts agree. According to the rabbinic tradition as given by Rabbi Meir, second century A.D. (see Bacher, *Ag. Tan.* ii. 65), in the fourth heaven called Zebul were to be found Jerusalem, the temple, the altar, and Michael the great prince. זבול שבו ירושלים ובית המקדש ומובח בנוי ומיכאל השר הגדול עומד ומקריב עליו קרבן. Similar statements are made in Sebach. 62$^{a}$, Menachoth 110$^{a}$. Also in the description of Paradise Jellinek Bet ha-Midrasch iii. 137 (see Lueken, *Michael* 30-31). "And there in the heaven Araboth stands the great prince Michael and the altar before him, and all the souls of the righteous he offers on that altar (כל נשמות הצדיקים מקריב על המזבח ההוא). For other rabbinic passages to the same effect see the admirable work of Lueken, *Michael* (30-32). The belief in the intercession of angels is found in the O.T. Thus in Zech. i. 12 the angel of Jahwe intercedes for Jerusalem and the cities of Judah, and the idea of man's appealing to the angels for their intercession finds expression in Job v. 1, xxxiii. 23. In the second century B.C. this doctrine appears to be very current. The angels are spoken of as the natural intercessors for mankind 1 En. xv. 2. They are mediators between God and

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| for all the sins of ignorance of the righteous; | | propitiation to the Lord for all the sins of ignorance of the righteous. |
| 6. Offering to the Lord a sweet-smelling savour, a reasonable and a bloodless offering. | 8. And praising the Lord, | 6. And they offer to the Lord a sweet-smelling savour, a reasonable and bloodless offering. |
| 7. And [in the heaven below this] are the angels who bear †answers to the angels of the presence of the Lord. | 7. Who also are messengers of the Godhead. | 7. And in [the heaven below] are the angels who bear the answers to the angels of the presence of the Lord. |

man, and prayers are addressed to them 1 En. ix. 3: Michael in especial prays for Israel lxxxix. 76, and he is undoubtedly one of the archangels who offers sacrifice on behalf of man, as mediator between God and man. See T. Dan vi. 2. In the first century B.C. the belief in the intercession of angels was apparently general amongst the Pharisees. Such especially was the duty of Michael, as the "merciful and longsuffering" xl. 9. His mediatorial functions are presupposed in lxviii. 3, 4, where his compassion for the fallen angels in torment almost leads him to intercede with God on their behalf. Intercession, moreover, was the duty likewise of Gabriel xl. 6, of all the angels civ. 1, and of the angels and of the departed righteous xlvii. 2, xxxix. 5. The prayers of men were presented before God by the seven archangels Tob. xii. 12, 15; cf. Rev. viii. 3. On the wide currency of this belief in Christian writings, see Lueken, *Michael*, 67 sqq.

Since ministering (λειτουργοῦντες) is here coupled with ἐξιλασκόμενοι, it is used in a sacrificial sense as in Neh. x. 39; Sir. vii. 30. Cf. Heb. i. 14 πνεύματα λειτουργικά.

*Sins of ignorance, i.e.* ἀγνοίαις. Cf. T. Reub. i. 6; T. Jud. xix. 3; T. Zeb. i. 5.

6. *Offering* (α). β A$^{\beta}$ S$^{1}$, "and they offer."

*Sweet smelling savour,* ὀσμὴν εὐωδίας. Cf. Lev. i. 9 etc.

*Reasonable* (λογικήν). Cf. Rom. xii. 1 λογικὴν λατρείαν. In Origen, *De Orat.* xi. this reasonable priestly service is attributed to Raphael: Ῥαφαὴλ μὲν προσφέροντος περὶ Τωβὴτ . . . λογικὴν ἱερουργίαν τῷ θεῷ.

*Bloodless offering.* Such a conception may have contributed in later times to the aversion of the Essenes to all bloody sacrifices. Cf. Philo ii. 457; Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 1. 5.

7. The denizens of the fifth heaven are said to be the angels who bear "answers" (ἀποκρίσεις) to the angels of the presence. The word ἀποκρίσεις cannot be right. If it were right, the text could only refer to a class of angels who mediated between God and the angels of the presence and brought His answers to the latter. Since these angels are not denominated angels of the presence we must regard them as belonging to a lower order, whose duty was to carry up the prayers of men to

8. And †in the heaven next to this† are thrones and dominions, in which always they offer praise to God.

8. And in the heaven next to this are thrones and dominions in which always praises are offered to God.

α β $A^{g}$ $S^{1}$

9. When, therefore, the Lord looketh upon us, all of us are shaken; yea, the

9. When, therefore, the Lord looketh upon all creation, the heavens and the earth

the angels of the presence. The latter would then offer the prayers together with incense to God. Cf. Rev. v. 8 *φιάλας χρυσᾶς γεμούσας θυμιαμάτων αἵ εἰσιν αἱ προσευχαὶ τῶν ἁγίων*; viii. 3, 4; *ἄλλος ἄγγελος* (*i.e.* Michael) *ἦλθεν . . . καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ θυμιάματα πολλὰ ἵνα δώσει ταῖς προσευχαῖς τῶν ἁγίων πάντων ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον . . . ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου*. Accordingly some corruption must underlie *ἀποκρίσεις*. This word = תשובות, which may be corrupt for תפלות = *προσεύχας*.

If the sevenfold division of the heavens in the text were original, these angels would naturally inhabit the sixth, if they mediated between God and the angels of the presence.

Such a class of angels as our text represents are mentioned in the Greek Apocalypse of Baruch xi.–xii., where Michael is represented as receiving the prayers of men which are brought by angels from the earth. Cf. Apoc. Pauli vii.–x.: also Origen, *De Princ.* i. 8. 1 Michaelo mortalium preces supplicationesque curare; *Hom.* xiv. 2 in Lib. Num.

8. The fourth heaven. With these "thrones and dominions," cf. Col. i. 16; Eph. i. 21; 2 En. xx. 1. The singing in this heaven is ascribed in Chag. 12$^{b}$, the Apoc. Zeph. (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. 11, 77), and 2 Enoch xviii. 9, to the angels in the fifth heaven (מאן), but in 2 En. xvii. to angels in the fourth.

9. The literary relations of this verse are interesting. While it has words or phrases in common with Judg. v. 4; Is. lxiv. 1; 1 En. i. 5 (*οἱ ἐγρήγοροι . . . σεισθήσονται*); Judith xvi. 15; Ass. Mos. x. 4, it is really dependent on the original of Sir. xvi. 18, 19:

*ἰδοὺ ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ὁ οὐρανὸς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ,*
*ἄβυσσος καὶ γῆ σαλευθήσονται ἐν τῇ ἐπισκοπῇ αὐτοῦ·*
19. *ἅμα τὰ ὄρη καὶ τὰ θεμέλια τῆς γῆς ἐν τῷ ἐπιβλέψαι εἰς αὐτὰ τρόμῳ συνσείονται.*

Since our text reads *ὅταν οὖν ἐπιβλέψει κύριος ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, οἱ πάντες* (+*ἡμεῖς* β $A^{\beta}$ S) *τρέμομεν* (α. *σαλευόμεθα* β $A^{\beta}$ $S^{1}$) *καὶ ὁ οὐρανὸς* (α. β $A^{\beta}$ $S^{1}$ *οἱ οὐρανοί*) *καὶ ἡ γῆ καὶ αἱ ἄβυσσοι . . . σαλεύονται* (A om.), our two Greek recensions seem not to be dependent on the Greek version of Sirach, but are independent renderings of their own Hebrew original. This we conclude from the different forms in which Sir. xvi. 19$^{b}$ appears in the two recensions of our Greek version and in the Greek of Sir. The Hebrew is here preserved: בהבישו אליהם רעש ירעשו. First we remark that our Greek version renders *ὅταν . . . ἐπιβλέψει* where G of Sir. has *ἐν τῷ ἐπιβλέψαι*. But far more important is the divergence in rendering ירעשו (ורעשו in our text). Thus α has *τρέμομεν*, β *σαλευόμεθα*, and Greek of Sir. *συνσείονται*.

heavens, and the earth, and the abysses are
and the abysses are shaken.
shaken at the presence
of His majesty.

10. But the sons of men, having no perception of these things, sin and provoke the Most High.

IV. Now, therefore, know that the Lord shall execute judgment upon the sons of men.

Because when the rocks are being rent,
And the sun quenched,
And the waters dried up,
And the fire cowering,
And all creation troubled,
And the invisible spirits melting away,
And Hades taketh spoils through the visitations of the Most High,
Men will be unbelieving and persist in their iniquity.

*Having no perception . . . sin.* Cf. 1 En. lxvii. 13.

IV. *The rocks are rent.* Cf. Matt. xxvii. 51 "And the rocks were rent."

*The sun quenched* (σβεννυμένου). *h i* A read "darkened" (σκοτιζομένου). With the latter compare Matt. xxiv. 29; Mark xix. 24.

*Waters dried up.* Cf. Pss. Sol. xvii. 21 πηγαὶ συνεσχέθησαν, Ass. Mos. x. 6 Et mare usque ad abyssum decedet et fontes aquarum deficient et flumina exarascent; 4 Ezra vi. 24, Venae fontium stabunt.

*And Hades taketh spoils through the visitations of the Most High* (καὶ τοῦ ἅδου σκυλευομένου ἐπὶ τῷ πάθει τοῦ ὑψίστου). I have with much hesitation recognised this line as genuine. I have taken σκυλευομένου as a middle participle though both the Armenian and Slavonic versions render it as a passive. πάθος generally has a passive sense, though the sense adopted above is defensible. Its rendering in the Armenian = πάθημα, πάθος or κάκωσις. On the whole this line, taken as above, agrees well in sense with what precedes, though it is abnormally long. With the thought compare Is. v. 14 "Sheol hath enlarged her desire and opened her mouth without measure." Cf. Hab. ii. 5; Prov. xxvii. 20, xxx. 15, 16. On the other hand it must be confessed that it would be very natural to render, "And Hades despoiled through the suffering of the Most High," and support this view by comparing Matt. xxvii. 52, 53 "And the tombs were opened and many bodies of the saints that had fallen asleep were raised, etc." In that case the line would of course be an interpolation.

*Men will be unbelieving* (ἀπιστοῦντες, β-*d* $A^{\beta}$S. α *d* read ἀπειθοῦντες, "disobedient") *and persist.* With the thought cf. Rev. xvi. 9, 11, 21, where despite the plagues and the earthquakes it is said that men repented not but blasphemed the God of heaven. Moreover, in 1 En. lxvii. 12, 13 it is said that the boiling springs issue from the place of torment of the fallen angels, and are a warning to the wicked rulers of the earth as to their

On this account with punishment shall they be judged.

2. ⌜Therefore⌝ the Most High hath heard thy prayer,
To separate thee from iniquity, and that thou shouldest become to Him a son,
And a servant, and a minister of His presence.

3. The light of knowledge shalt thou light up in Jacob,
And as the sun shalt thou be to all the seed of Israel.

4. And there shall be given to thee a blessing, and to all thy seed,
Until the Lord shall visit all the Gentiles in His tender mercies for ever.

5. ⌜And⌝ therefore there have been given to thee counsel and understanding,
That thou mightest instruct thy sons concerning this;

6. Because they that bless †Him shall be blessed,
And they that curse †Him shall perish.

own destiny, but that the latter will refuse to believe that this is so. With the phraseology cf. Rom. vi. 1, *ἐπιμένωμεν τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ*.

*With punishment shall they be judged.* The expression seems corrupt. Possibly the corruption arose in the Hebrew. Ἐν τῇ κολάσει κριθήσονται = במעצבה ידונו, where the verb may be corrupt for יִתָּנוּ. Hence we should render "shall be delivered up to punishment."

2. *Heard thy prayer.* Cf. ii. 4.

*Become to Him a son.* The view that the individual Israelite was a son of God was already current in the second century B.C. Cf. Sir. xxiii. 1, li. 10 (Syriac); and my note on Jub. i. 24.

*A minister of His presence.* Cf. Isaac's blessing of Levi in Jub. xxxi. 14: "May the Lord . . . cause thee and thy seed . . . to serve in His sanctuary as the angels of the presence."

3. *The light of knowledge*, etc. That is, the law. On the phrase which is derived from Hos. x. 12, see note on xviii. 3.

4. The "blessing" here is that pronounced by the priests over the people (cf. T. Reub. vi. 10, note), the privileges of the priesthood (cf. v. 2), or possibly it is God's blessing of Levi and his seed; as Jub. xxxi. 13—

May the God of all, the very Lord of all the ages,
Bless thee and thy children throughout all the ages.

*Until the Lord visit*, etc. The genuineness of these words is supported by ver. 2 of the next chapter.

*All the Gentiles in His tender mercies.* Here $a\beta A^{\beta}S$ attest one (or two) Christian modifications of the text, reading "all the nations in the tender mercies of His Son." $A^{a}$ is corrupt. Perhaps *πάντα τὰ ἔθνη* is corrupt for *πᾶν τὸ ἔθνος* = "Israel."

*For ever.* Here $a\beta$ A S add "Nevertheless thy sons shall lay hands upon Him and crucify Him."

5. *Concerning this* ($a\,a\,e\,f$ S), *i.e.* God's coming presence amongst men. $b\,d\,g$ $A^{\beta}$ read "concerning him" (*αὐτοῦ*), $A^{a}$ "not to sin against Him."

6. This entire verse is found in Jub. xxxi. 17 in Isaac's blessing of Levi—

And blessed be he that blesseth thee,
And cursed be every nation that curseth thee.

*They that bless . . . shall be blessed* ($a\,A^{a}$). $\beta\,A^{\beta}S$ read "He that blesseth . . . shall be blessed."

V. And thereupon the angel opened to me the gates of heaven, and I saw the holy temple, and upon a throne of glory the Most High. 2. And He said to me: Levi, I have given thee the blessings of the priesthood until I come and sojourn in the midst of Israel. 3. Then the angel brought me down to the earth, and gave me a shield and a sword, and said to me: Execute vengeance on Shechem because of Dinah, thy sister, and I will be with thee because the Lord hath sent me. 4. And I destroyed at that time the sons of Hamor, as it is written in the heavenly tables. 5. And I said to him: I pray Thee, O Lord, tell me Thy name, that I may call upon Thee in a day of tribulation. 6. And he said: I am the angel who intercedeth for the nation of Israel that they may not be smitten utterly,

†*Him.* There can hardly be any doubt from the sense of the context and the evidence of Jub. xxxi. 17 (see above) that for "him" (*αὐτόν*) we should read "thee" (*σέ*) in both lines.

V. *Thereupon* (*α*). $A^{\alpha}$ reads "having said this." $\beta A^{\beta} S$ om.

*Heaven.* Apparently Levi had hitherto ascended only into the second: now he is admitted into the third.

*The holy temple, and upon the throne of glory the Most High* ($\beta$ A S). *α* reads "the Holy Most High One upon a throne." The latter is peculiar. The fuller text appears to be original. Cf. iii. 4 ($\beta$ A S) "holy of holies," xviii. 6 "temple of glory." These are the oldest references I am aware of to a temple in heaven. For later references cf. Rev. xi. 19, xvi. 17, etc. In Rev. xxi. 22, on the other hand, there is said to be no temple there. The belief in heavenly originals of the tabernacle, etc., is found of course in the O.T.

2. *Until I come and sojourn.* Cf. iv. 4; T. Sim. vi. 5.

3-4. *And gave me a shield . . . heavenly tablets.* These words at first sight look like a Jewish interpretation, since Levi makes no attempt in the next chapter to justify himself to Jacob on the ground of a divine command. But this silence can be justified by the statement in vi. 2. Moreover, the delivery of the shield and sword made to Levi in a dream vision (cf. ii. 5, v. 7), and the reality of the gift are authenticated by Levi's discovery of the shield on the mountain where he beheld the vision, cf. ii. 5, vi. 1.

*Thy sister* ($\beta$-*d* S om.).

*Me.* We should expect "thee."

4. Cf. Gen. xxxiv. 25-27; Jub. xxx. 4. This verse comes in awkwardly here. A similar statement is made in Jub. xxx. 23.

*Heavenly tables* ($\beta A^{\beta} S^{1}$). Cf. T. Ash. ii. 10, vii. 5 ($\beta A S^{1}$). See my note on Jub. iii. 10. *α* = "tables of the fathers."

5. *Tell* ($\beta$-*α* A $S^{1}$). *α* reads "teach." Cf. Gen. xxxii. 29.

6. *The angel who intercedeth for the nation of Israel.* Cf. T. Dan vi. 2. Here I follow *β-d παραιτούμενος τὸ γένος*. The textual evidence is here very conflicting. *α* reads *παρεπόμενος τοῦ γένους*. This might be a rendering of עומד על־העם (cf. 1 Kings xxii. 19; Gen. xlv. 1, נצב על) and mean "attending on the nation." In Esther viii. 11; ix. 16 this Hebrew phrase is rendered by *βοηθεῖν*. But *παρεπόμενος* is possibly a corruption of *παραιτού-*

for every evil spirit attacketh it. 7. And after these things I awaked, and blessed the Most High, and the angel

μενος. Since παρεπόμενος recurs in *a* in T. Dan vi. 2 its presence here is not a mere accident. The remaining authorities *d* A $S^1$ are closely related. *d* reads προιστάμενος τοῦ γένους, A φύλαξ τοῦ γένους (but bahaban in A = φύλαξ is corrupt for bashdeban = ὑπερασπιστής), $S^1$ σώζων τὸ γένος. Since in ver. 7 *d* reads ὑμερασπίζοντα it is possible that נגן על־העם is the original to which *d* and A go back, and so we should have "who protecteth the nation," whereas παραιτούμενος τὸ γένος presupposes פגע לעם. Cf. Asc. Is. ix. 23 (Latin and Slavonic) Iste est magnus angelus Michael deprecans semper pro humanitate. In the Hebrew T. Naph. ix. 2, however, the phrase used for "intercessor" is מֵלִיץ.

Thus we have to choose between "who intercedeth for" (*β-d*) and "who protecteth" (*d* A $S^1$). The internal evidence of T. Lev. v. 5-6 and T. Dan vi. 1-6 appears to favour the former, as we shall see in the next paragraphs.

We have now to discover, if possible, who is the angel designed in the text.

i. *He is not narrowly represented as the national angelic guardian of Israel against the other nations, but broadly conceived as the intercessor for the righteous of all nations, their protector against Satan or Beliar, and the mediator between God and Man.*

In Dan. x. 13, 21, xii. 1, Michael is described as the guardian angel of Israel—the view apparently presented in *d* A $S^1$ above. But this view had but little currency in second century authorities; for 1 En. xx. 7 does not support it as it reads Μιχαήλ, ὁ εἷς τῶν ἁγίων ἀγγέλων, ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν τοῦ λαοῦ ἀγαθῶν. This passage represents Michael as the patron angel of the saints in Israel—not the patron angel of the nation. Nor can 1 En. lxxxix.–xc. be said to support the view in Daniel; for the angel who intercedes for Israel lxxxix. 76, and is sent to help Israel in its final struggles xc. 14, and who is most probably Michael, as he is one of the seven archangels xc. 22, is expressly distinguished from the seventy angelic patrons of the nations lxxxix. 57-61, and is appointed to enter in a book their dealings with Israel. On the other hand it is definitely stated in Deut. xxxii. 8-9 (LXX) and Sir. xvii. 17; Jub. xv. 31, 32; and Hebrew T. Napth. ix. 2 sqq., that whereas the nations are put under the dominion of angels, Israel is not, but is God's own portion. The angel here is *not the mere patron of Israel*, but the guardian of the righteous of all nations T. Lev. v. 7, and the spiritual mediator between God and Israel, or rather between God and man T. Dan vi. 2. In keeping with this larger conception he is pitted, moreover, not against the patron angels of the Gentile nations as in Dan x.–xii., but against the kingdom of Satan or Beliar T. Dan vi. 2, 3; T. Benj. vi. 1. The idea that Israel was under a patron angel like the seventy Gentile nations was subsequently revived as a Rabbinic doctrine in the Targ. Ps.-Jon. on Gen. xi. 7, 8, Deut. xxxii. 8 (see Weber[2], *Jüd. Theol.* 170 sq.; *Jewish Encyc.* viii. 536).

ii. *This angel may be Michael or the angel of peace, or both these angels may be referred to in* T. Lev. v. 5-7; T. Dan vi. 1-6. Michael is generally conceived in Talmudic literature as the intercessor for and champion of Israel. But it is clear from Dan. x. 5-6 and T. Dan vi. 5 that another angel besides Michael is concerned on behalf of Israel. In Dan. x. 5-6, 11*a*, 12-14, 19-21, xi.-xii. this angel is nameless, but in T. Dan vi. 5 he is called "the angel of peace." In Dan. x. this nameless angel is of very glorious appearance (5-6) and fights for Israel with the help of Michael (19-21). In T. Dan vi. 5 the angel of peace strengthened Israel, "so that it fall not into the extremity of evil (μὴ ἐμπεσεῖν εἰς τέλος κακῶν)." The danger of Israel, as the context shows, is a spiritual one. Now the very same statement is made in connection with the angel mentioned in T. Lev. v. 6 "I am the angel who intercedeth for the nation of Israel that they may not be smitten utterly (μὴ παταχθῆναι αὐτοὺς εἰς τέλος), for every evil spirit attacketh it." Hence the angel in T.

who intercedeth for the nation of Israel and for all the righteous.

VI. And when I was going to my father, I found a brazen shield; wherefore also the name of the mountain is Aspis, which is near Gebal, to the south of Abila. 2. And I kept these words in my heart. And after this I counselled my father, and Reuben my brother, to bid the sons of Hamor not to be circumcised; for I was jealous because of

Lev. v. 5-7 may be "the angel of peace." (For references to the angel of peace as the conductor of righteous souls, see T. Ash. vi. 6; T. Benj. vi. 1.) Further, we remark that this angel in T. Lev. v.—presumably the angel of peace—escorts Levi through the various heavens T. Lev. ii.–v. Now this presumption that he is the angel of peace is strengthened by the fact that the angel who conducts Enoch through the heavens is called the angel of peace in 1 En. xl. 8, lii. 5, liii. 4, etc. Moreover, if we may trust 1 En. xl. 8, 9, we must regard Michael and the angel of peace as distinct beings. Now it is possible to find references to both angels in T. Dan vi. 1-6, or to regard the phrase "the angel of peace" as a gloss in vi. 5 and so interpret the whole passage of Michael, or even to interpret the passage as dealing with the achievements of the angel of peace only. On the attribution of similar functions to Michael and the angel of peace in later literature see note on T. Benj. vi. 1.

*That they may not be smitten.* So A. Cf. T. Dan. vi. 5 ὁ ἄγγελος ἐνισχύσει τὸν Ἰσραήλ, μὴ ἐμπεσεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς τέλος κακῶν. *aβ* read "that one may not smite them" (τοῦ μὴ πατάξαι αὐτούς).

*Utterly, for every evil spirit attacketh it* (*β-d* $A^{\beta}$ $S^{1}$). *a* om., $A^{a}$ reads "utterly."

7. *Awaked.* Levi fell asleep in ii. 5.

*And the angel . . . the righteous* (*β* $A^{\beta}$ $S^{1}$). The details are: "and the angel who intercedeth for (*παραιτούμενον β*, but $A^{\beta}$ = *φύλακα* or *φυλάσσοντα* "protecteth," $S^{1}$ *σώζοντα*) the nation of Israel and for all (+the ranks of $A^{\beta}$) the righteous (*af* $S^{1}$ om. "the righteous"). *a* omits.

VI. *Shield* (ἀσπίδα): *wherefore also the name of the mountain is Aspis* (*β-d* $S^{1}$ *d*). *a* reads "Shield in which (*ἐν ᾧ*) the name of the mountain is called Aspis." A "Wherefore I (Aβ "he") called the name of that ($A^{\beta}$ om.) mountain Aspis." Prof. Sayce suggests that Ἀσπίς is a bad rendering of שריון, which was also another name of Mt. Hermon. Cf. Deut. iii. 9. Hermon is about 40 miles from Gebal.

*Gebal.* This maritime town is the Byblus of the Greeks.

*To the south of Abila* (*b* $S^{1}$). *aef* (*g* ?)Aβ read Ἀβιμά, *d* Ἀμηβά, $A^{a}$ Ἀβινά, *a* om. Abila, *i.e.* Abilene, is about 10 miles N.W. of Hermon.

2. Cf. Dan. vii. 28 ומלתא בלבי נטרת rendered in LXX and Theodotion by καὶ τὸ ῥῆμα ἐν (+τῇ Theod.) καρδίᾳ μου ἐστήριξα (διετήρησα Theod.). Since our text has καὶ συνετήρουν τοὺς λόγους τούτους ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ μου, it is clearly independent of both Versions. Luke ii. 19 συνετήρει τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα συμβάλλουσα ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτῆς shows strange agreement with our text. The second dream vision ends with like words, cf. viii. 19. See, however, LXX of Dan. iv. 25, τοὺς λόγους ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ συνετήρησε.

3. *And after this I counselled* (*a*). *β* $A^{a}$ $S^{1}$ read "and (*β* $S^{1}$ om.) I counselled." $A^{b*cd}$ = "and I said."

*My brother. c* om.

*Not.* The negative is found in *c* only, but appears to be right. It partially justifies Levi's conduct. But all the sons of Jacob gave this counsel according to Gen. xxxiv. 13 sqq. The Book of Jubilees xxx. 1-4 and Josephus (*Ant.* i. 21. 1) omit all reference to the circumcison of the Shechemites.

the abomination which they had wrought on my sister. 4. And I slew Shechem first, and Simeon slew Hamor. 5. And after this my brothers came and smote ⌜that⌝ city with the edge of the sword. 6. And my father heard ⌜these things⌝ and was wroth, and he was grieved in that they had received the circumcision, and after that had been put to death, and in his blessings he †looked amiss upon us. 7. For we sinned because we had done this thing against his will, and he was sick on that day. 8. But I saw that the sentence of God was for evil upon Shechem; for they sought to do to Sarah ⌜and Rebecca⌝ as they had done to Dinah our sister, but the Lord prevented them. 9. And they persecuted Abraham our father when he was a stranger, and they vexed his flocks when they were big with young; and Eblaen, who was born in his house, they most shamefully handled. 10. And thus they did to all strangers, taking away their wives by force, and they †banished them.

*On my sister* ($a$ $A^{\alpha}$). $\beta$ $A^{\beta}$ $S^{1}$ read "in Israel"—a reading which may be due to the influence of Gen. xxxiv. 7.

4. Cf. Gen. xxxiv. 25, 26.

5. According to Gen. xxxiv. 25, 27 Simeon and Levi slew all the males in the city, and their brothers merely plundered the dead.

*My brothers* ($a$ $d$). A = "our brothers," $\beta$-$d$ $S^{1}$ "the brothers."

*Smote that city with the edge of the sword.* Cf. Gen. xxxiv. 26; Jub. xxx. 25.

*That city* ($a$). $\beta$-$d$ A $S^{1}$ read "the city."

6. Cf. Gen. xxxiv. 30; Jub. xxx. 25 "And he reproached them because they had put the city to the sword."

*My* ($a$). $d$ A read "our," $\beta$-$d$ $S^{1}$ om.

*These things* ($a$). $\beta$ A $S^{1}$ om.

*After that* ($\beta$ A $S^{1}$). $a$ om.

† *Looked amiss upon us* (so $a$, παρεῖδεν ἡμῖν). $\beta$-$d$ $g$ $A^{\beta}$ $S^{1}$ read "did otherwise," *i.e.* inequitably (ἄλλως ἐποίησεν). I cannot explain these divergencies.

7. *He was sick.* So $c$ $b$. Other authorities read "I was sick."

8. *Upon Shechem* ($\beta$ A $S^{1}$). $a$ om.

*Sarah and Rebecca.* The Shechemites had no part in these matters: cf. Gen. xx. 3 sqq., xxvi. 7 sqq.

*And Rebecca* ($a$). Other authorities om.

9. *Big with young* (ὀγκούμενα). Or "when they were growing large."

*Eblaen* ($c$). The name appears variously as Iekblae ($a$ $b$ $e$), Ieblaen ($e$ $f$), Amblaem ($A^{\beta}$).

10. *Their wives* ($\beta$-$a$ $f$ A $S^{1}$). $a$ $a$ $f$ read "the strange women."

† *Banished* ($h$ $i$ $A^{\beta}$ ἐξενηλάτουν). $c$ which is corrupt points to the same reading. $\beta$ $S^{1}$ read ξενηλατοῦντες. Since the next word "them" is feminine (αὐτάς, so $a$. $\beta$-$b$ om., $b$ alone reads αὐτούς and $A^{\beta}$ = αὐτάς or αὐτούς), the verb appears wrong. Now ἐξενηλάτουν = יריחון which may also be rendered ἀπεπλάνων αὐτάς = "seduced them," *i.e.* to idolatrous worship. Cf. Deut. iv. 19, xiii. 14, xxx. 17; 2 Chron. xxi. 11. This use is also Rabbinic. Or we might render simply "they forced them." For this meaning cf. Prov. vii. 21. In Jub. xxx.

11. But the wrath of the Lord came upon them to the uttermost.

VII. And I said to my father Jacob: By thee will the Lord destroy the Canaanites, and will give their land to thee and to thy seed after thee. 2. For from this day forward shall Shechem be called a city of imbeciles; for as a man mocketh a fool, so did we mock them, 3. Because also they had wrought folly in Israel by defiling my sister. And we departed and came to Bethel.

VIII. And there again I saw a vision even as the former, after we had spent there seventy days. 2. And I saw seven men in white raiment saying unto me: Arise, put on the robe of the priesthood, and the crown of righteousness,

7-17 the penalty of death is ordained for intermarriage with the heathen in connection *with his destruction of Shechem*. Cohabitation with a Gentile was regarded as equivalent to worship of the Gentile idols. See my note on Jub. xxx. 10.

11. This verse, as Grabe (*Spiceleg. Patrum* 1698, i. 138) saw, was adopted by St. Paul in 1 Thess. ii. 16 ἔφθασεν δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἡ ὀργὴ τοῦ Θεοῦ (D E F G, it, vulg., *g o*, but most authorities om. τοῦ Θεοῦ). For "God" which *a* reads $\beta$ $S^1$ read "Lord," but $A^\beta$ om. φθάνω as also in T. Reub. v. 7; T. Naph. vi. 8 has lost the idea of priority as in Alexandrian Greek. It preserves it, however, in T. Naph. v. 6.

VII. *My father Jacob* (*a*). *β-b* A $S^1$ read "My father: Be not angry, my (*a f g*, $A^\alpha$ om.) Lord Jacob (*d* om.).

2. *Shechem be called a city of imbeciles.* Cf. Sir. l. 26 ὁ λαὸς μωρὸς ὁ κατοικῶν ἐν Σικίμοις: also John iv. 22, viii. 48 on the later attitude of the Jews to the Samaritans.

*Wrought folly in Israel.* Cf. Gen. xxxiv. 7; Jub. xxx. 5.

*My* (*a* $A^\beta$). $\beta$ $S^1$ read "our."

3. *Departed* (*a a d f*). $A^\alpha$="departed thence," *b e g* "took our sister (+Dinah *e*) from thence and departed" (*g* om. "from . . . departed").

*Came to Bethel.* Cf. Jub. xxxi. 3; Gen. xxxv. 6.

VIII. The vision contained in this chapter is referred to in Jub. xxxii. 1 "And Levi dreamed that they had ordained and made him the priest of the Most High God, him and his sons forever." In Jubilees, however, the dream is placed after Levi had seen Isaac his father's father, and returned to Bethel, whereas in our text this visit to Isaac is made after the vision. See ix. 1. It will be seen in the following notes, that much of the material of this chapter is found in Jubilees, but in slightly different connections. See, however, note on ix. 3 as to the possibility of a corruption in Jub. xxxi. 1.

*Again.* The "again" refers to the vision not to the locality.

*A vision even as the former.* This statement recurs in ver. 18. See preceding note.

2. *Seven men.* These are of course angels. This sacred heptad of angels is first mentioned in Ezek. ix. 2. Their names are first enumerated in 1 En. xx. with a description of their functions.

*Robe of the priesthood*, etc. With this enumeration of the garments of the high priest we should compare the following somewhat inconsistent accounts. Exod. xxviii. 4, 36-38, xxix. 5. The breastplate (חֹשֶׁן, λογεῖον or περιστήθιον), ephod (אפוד, ἐπωμίς), robe (מעיל, ποδήρης), coat (כתנת, χιτών), mitre

and the breastplate of understanding, and the garment of truth, and the plate of faith, and the turban of the †head,

(מצנפת, *κίδαρις*), with a golden plate (ציץ, *πέταλον χρυσοῦν*) on which was inscribed "Holy to Yahwe" (Exod. xxviii. 36-38), and girdle (אבנט, *ζώνη*). Breeches (מכנסים, *περισκελῆ*) were to be worn by the high priest on the day of atonement, Lev. xvi. 4, and by ordinary priests on sacrificial occasions (Exod. xxviii. 42). In the LXX of Sir. xlv. 8-12 the breeches, robe, ephod and breastplate are mentioned in 8-10. Here the Hebrew differs and gives breeches, tunic, robe, ephod and cincture (אזור). To the above ver. 12 adds the golden crown (עטרת פז, *στέφανος χρυσοῦς*) over the turban, and the golden plate (lost in LXX) with its inscription. Next Philo (*De Vita Mos.* iii. 11-14) speaks of this robe which he calls *ὑποδύτης* (so also in Exod. xxxix. 22), ephod, breastplate, and golden plate which was wrought like a crown (*στέφανος*) with the sacred name, and under the plate was a *μίτρα* that the plate might not touch the head, and under it a *κίδαρις*. For another similar account see *De Mon.* ii. 5, 6. Again Josephus (*Ant.* iii. 7. 1-6) describes the following garments: breeches (*μαναχάσην* a corrupt transliteration of מכנסים), girdle, tunic and robe (both of which are described as *χιτὼν ποδήρης*), ephod, breastplate, and a cap (*πῖλος, i.e.* מצנפת). Above this cap there was another cap, and around it a golden fillet (*στέφανος χρύσεος*) of three rows, one above another, on which there was a golden plate (*τελαμὼν χρύσεος*) engraved with the sacred name (cf. Jer. *Ep. ad Fab.* lxiv.). The cap (*πῖλος*, מצנפת) without the above additions was according to Josephus (iii. 7. 3) and Yoma vii. 5 worn also by the ordinary priest, but this was not the O.T. usage. In the earlier work *Bell. Jud.* v. 5. 7 somewhat different terms are used and somewhat inconsistent details are given. Thus we have the breeches, tunic (here called *ὑποδύτης*), robe, girdle (*ζώνη*), ephod, linen turban (*τιάρα βυσσίνη*) encircled by a golden fillet (*χρυσοῦς στέφανος*), on which was engraved the sacred name, but according to *Ant.* iii. 7. 6 this name was inscribed on the golden plate which was on the forehead. For other accounts see *Ep. Const.* ed Schmidt in Merx, *Archiv* i. 271 f. See also *Encyc. Bib.* on all the above articles of dress.

From the preceding accounts we are enabled without difficulty to identify the seven articles of high-priestly attire. Thus the *στολή* is the tunic or coat, the *στέφανος* the crown (עטרה), the *λόγιον* the breastplate (חשן), the *ποδήρης* the robe (מעיל), the *πέταλον* the plate (ציץ), the *μίτρα* the turban (מצנפת), and the ephod. Some difficulty, however, attaches to the nouns depending on them, as one, or two of them, is corrupt. On the atoning efficacy of each of the above garments see Zebach. 88b.

*Saw.* A adds "there."

*Robe* (*στολήν*). This is the כְּתֹנֶת or tunic of the ordinary priest Exod. xxviii. 4, 39; xxix. 5, etc.; or of the high priest Lev. xvi. 4; Ezra ii. 69.

*Crown of righteousness.* Cf. Sir. xlv. 12 *στέφανον χρυσοῦν ἐπάνω κιδάρεως* where the Hebrew describing the crown of Aaron has עטרת פז מעיל מצנפת. פְּאֵר is the Talmudic word for crown in this connection. Cf. Pl. Aboth iv. 13 כתר כהונה "crown of the priesthood" (Levy, *Neuhebraïsches Wörterb.* ii. 440).

*Breastplate of understanding.* *τὸ λόγιον τῆς συνέσεως* = חשן השכל where השכל may be corrupt for משפט. Thus we should have "the breastplate of judgment." Cf. Exod. xxviii. 15; Sir. xlv. 10. חשן is also rendered *περιστήθιον* (Exod. xxviii. 4).

*Garment of truth* (*ποδήρη τῆς ἀληθείας*). The *ποδήρης* is the מְעִיל or outer robe worn over the inner tunic (כתנת). It was, according to P, the robe of the high priest, made of purple stuff (Exod. xxviii. 31, xxix. 5) with skirts around which were alternate coloured pomegranates of blue, purple, and scarlet, and golden bells, Exod. xxviii. 33-34, xxxix. 24-26.

*Plate of faith* (*πέταλον τῆς πίστεως*). Here *πετάλον* = צִיץ. On the various meanings assigned to this word, see *Encyc. Bib.* iii. 3157.

*Turban of the† head* (*μίτραν τῆς κεφαλῆς*—α). Here, as the context shows, we require some abstract noun, and so *κεφαλῆς* cannot be right.

and the ephod of prophecy. 3. And they severally carried (these things) and put (them) on me, and said unto me: From henceforth become a priest of the Lord, thou and thy seed for ever. 4. And the first anointed me with holy oil, and gave to me the staff of judgment. 5. The second washed me with pure water, and fed me with bread and wine (even) the most holy things, and clad me with a holy and glorious robe. 6. The third clothed me with a linen vestment like an ephod. 7. The fourth put round me a girdle like unto purple. 8. The fifth gave me a branch of rich olive. 9. The sixth placed a crown on my head. 10. The seventh placed on my head a diadem of priesthood, and filled my hands with incense, that I might serve as priest to the Lord God. 11. And they said to me: Levi, thy seed shall be divided into three offices, for a sign of the glory of the Lord who is to come. 12. And the first portion shall be great; yea, greater than it shall none be. 13. The second shall be in

*b d e g* $A^{\alpha}$ read *τοῦ σημείου*, and *a f* $S^{1}$ *τοῦ στηθίου*. The latter may be explained as a corruption or correction of *σημείου*. Perhaps the original word was מישור (=*εὐθύτητος*), which was corrupted on the one hand into ראש (=*κεφαλῆς*) and on the other into מופת (=*σημείου* "miracle").

3. *A priest of the Lord* ($A^{\alpha}$ read "God"), *thou and thy seed for ever* ($\beta$ A $S^{1}$). *a* reads "A priest, thou and all thy seed." Cf. Jub. xxxii. 1 "They made him the priest of the Most High God, him and his sons forever." These words refer to this vision of Levi. See note at beginning of chapter. Cf. Sir, xlv. 13.

4. *Of judgment* ($\beta$ A $S^{1}$). *a* om.

5. *And the second* (*a* $A^{\beta}$). $\beta$ $A^{\alpha}$ $S^{1}$ read "the second."

*Bread and wine* (*even*), *the most holy things* (*c i* $\beta$ $S^{1}$). *h* A read "holy bread and wine." Cf. Gen. xiv. 18, where Melchizedek presents bread and wine to Abraham.

7. *Girdle* (*ζώνη*). This seems to be the אַבְנֵט (Exod. xxviii. 4 sq.).

9-10. So *a* $\beta$ $S^{1}$. $A^{\alpha}$ reads "And the sixth filled my hands with incense that I might serve as priest before the Lord." $A^{cdefg}$ "And the sixth and seventh gave me the diadem of the priesthood and again filled my hands with incense that, etc.

10. *Diadem of the priesthood.* See note on "crown of righteousness" viii. 2.

*Filled my hands.* Cf. Exod. xxviii. 41, xxix. 9 for this phrase signifying ordination to the priesthood.

*God* (*a*). $\beta$ A S om.

11. The three offices here referred to are described more fully in the next three verses. They are to be signs of the coming of the Messiah.

12. *And the first portion*, etc. So *a* (*καὶ* (*c* om.) *ὁ πρῶτος κλῆρος ἔσται μέγας καὶ κτλ.*). *b d e g* support *a* save that they interpolate *πιστεύσας* before *πρῶτος* and *b e g* om. *καί* before *ὑπέρ*. *a f* give a corrupter form of *b d e g*. $S^{1}$ is defective. This *πιστεύσας* has made its way into A also. A = "And those who believe first shall have a great portion" (+ "and greater than it shall none be" $A^{\beta}$). This rendering supposes a necessary correction of $A^{\beta}$.

the priesthood. 14. And the third shall be called by a new name, because a king shall arise in Judah, and shall establish a new priesthood, after the † fashion of the Gentiles [to all the Gentiles]. 15. And his presence is

The text here clearly refers to Moses, the greatest of Levi's descendants, as Bousset has already recognised.

13. *And the second* ($h\,i\,A^{\beta}$). $a\,\beta\,A^{a}$ read "the second." The second here refers to Aaron and the Aaronitic priesthood.

14. *And the third* ($a\,A^{\beta}\,S^{1}$). $\beta\,A^{a}$ read "the third." The Greek here is very Hebraic. ὁ δὲ τρίτος ἐπικληθήσεται αὐτῷ ὄνομα καινόν = והשלישי יקרא לו שם חדש.

*The third.* The reference here is to the Maccabean prince priests, and in particular to Johannes Hyrcanus, as the next verse will show.

*A new name.* The Maccabean prince priests were the first Jewish priests to assume the title—"priests of the Most High God. This title anciently borne by Melchizedek (Gen. xiv. 18) was revived by the new holders of the high priesthood. They are so designated in the Rosh ha-Shanah 18$^{b}$, "In such a year of Johanan priest of the Most High God"; Assumpt. Mos. vi. 1 sacerdotes summi Dei; Joseph. *Ant.* xvi. 6. 2 where Hyrcanus II. is called ἀρχιερεὺς θεοῦ ὑψίστου. Cf. Jub. xxxii. 1, xxxvi. 16 notes, and viii. 15 of the present Testament. The Maccabean high priests were to be called by a new name, because they were to establish a new priesthood (ἱερατείαν νεάν).

*King.* According to 1 Macc. xiv. 41 (cf. xiii. 42, xiv. 42, xv. 1) Simon was appointed by a decree of the nation to be high priest, military commander, and civil ruler of the Jews (ἀρχιερεύς, στρατηγός, and ἐθνάρχης). By this decree a new high-priestly and princely dignity was founded and declared hereditary. See Schurer, *History of the Jewish people*,[2] Div. i. 1. 265. The titles στρατηγός and ἐθνάρχης would amply justify the use of the term βασιλεύς.

*In Judah.* Though $a\,\beta$ read ἐκ τοῦ Ἰούδα (A = ἐκ τοῦ Ἰ. or ἐν τῷ Ἰ.) we must read ἐν τῷ Ἰ., unless we take the clause, "a king shall arise from J." as a Christian interpolation. The corruption was due to accident, or to a scribe who worked to bring the text into line with the prophecies which foretold a Messianic king *from* Judah.

*New priesthood.* See note on "new name," ver. 14 and xviii. 2.

*After the †fashion of the Gentiles* [*to all the Gentiles*]. I have bracketed the latter phrase as a dittography in the Hebrew. The former phrase is corrupt. Bousset thinks it can be explained as referring to the secular authority attached to the priesthood of the Maccabees. But the authority of their predecessors, the Hellenistic high priests, was also secular. The object of our author here is apparently to show that the intercessory functions of the new priesthood are not to be confined to Israel but to be extended to the Gentiles. This would be simply another instance of our author's universalism, evidences of which are found in all the Testaments (see note on T. Benj. ix. 2). Now κατὰ τύπον τῶν ἐθνῶν = לצלם הגויים, which is corrupt for למליץ הגויים = εἰς μεσίτην τῶν ἐθνῶν. Thus we should render the context "establish a new priesthood to be an intercessor (or mediator) for the Gentiles." This idea follows as a matter of course if the Gentiles were to go up to worship at Jerusalem as the Hebrew prophets foretold.

15. This verse serves to date the present work. Verses 14-15 refer to the Maccabean *dynasty* just as ver. 13 refers to the Aaronitic priesthood. As ver. 14 speaks of the union of king and priest in one person as in Simon, so this verse speaks of the gift of prophecy as combined with the functions of kingship and priesthood. Now the triple offices of prophet, priest, and king were only assigned to one man, *i.e.* John Hyrcanus, throughout the entire history of the Jews. Thus Josephus (*Bell. Jud.* i. 2. 8) writes: τρία γοῦν τὰ κρατιστεύοντα μόνος εἶχεν, τήν τε ἀρχὴν τοῦ ἔθνους καὶ τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην καὶ

beloved, as a prophet of the Most High, of the seed of Abraham our father.

16. Therefore, every desirable thing in Israel shall be for thee and for thy seed,
And ye shall eat everything fair to look upon,
And the table of the Lord shall thy seed apportion.
17. And some of them shall be high priests, and judges, and scribes;
For by their mouth shall the holy place be guarded.
18. And when I awoke, I understood that this (dream) was like the first dream. 19. And I hid this also in my heart, and told it not to any man upon the earth.

IX. And after two days I and Judah went up with our

*προφητείαν· ὡμίλει γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸ δαιμόνιον ὡς μηδὲν τῶν μελλόντων ἀγνοεῖν. Ant.* xiii. 10. 7 *τριῶν τῶν μεγίστων ἄξιος ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ κριθείς, ἀρχῆς τοῦ ἔθνους καὶ τῆς ἀρχιερατικῆς τιμῆς καὶ προφητείας· συνῆν γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸ θεῖον καὶ τὴν τῶν μελλόντων πρόγνωσιν παρεῖχεν αὐτῷ τε εἰδέναι καὶ προλέγειν.* The same view appears in the Talmud: see quotation from Sotah ix. 12 in note on p. 64. The reference, therefore, to Hyrcanus in the text is unmistakable. From the above laudatory account of the Maccabean dynasty, we infer that the work was written in the lifetime of Hyrcanus, and probably before his split with the Pharisees. In no case could the words have been written under Alexander Jannaeus, or the later Maccabees by a Pharisee. The memory of the greatness of John Hyrcanus survives in the Talmud. Thus in Kidd. 66[a] he is described as the "second David," and is said to have worn two separate crowns, one royal and one priestly.

*Beloved* (α *a f* $S^2$). β-*a f* A read "unutterable." Here *ἄφραστος* = פלא, corrupt for ידיד = *ἀγαπητός*. Cf. T. Benj. ix. 2.

*Prophet of the Most High.* There is a special significance in this designation, as the Maccabees were designated priests of the Most High.

16-17. The text now turns from the Maccabean line to deal with Levi's posterity in general.

16. There is a close affinity between our text and the Isaac's blessing of Levi in Jub. xxxi. 16—

Let His table be thine
And do thou and thy sons eat thereof.

Cf. also T. Jud. xxi. 5; Sir. xlv. 21, *καὶ γὰρ θυσίας κυρίου φάγονται, ἃς ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ τε καὶ τῷ σπέρματι αὐτοῦ.*

17. *High priests and judges and scribes.* The high priests in the pre-Maccabean age were not only priests but also princes, Schürer (*H.J.P.* II. i. 195). The text here appears to be allied to Jub. xxxi. 15, where in Isaac's blessing of Levi it is said: "(Thy sons) will be judges and princes and chiefs of all the seed of the sons of Jacob." The latter passage, however, contains a reference to the Maccabean princes as the context shows (see my note *in loc.*).

*For* (β-*e* $A^{\beta}S^1$). α $A^{a}S^2$ read "and."

*Shall be guarded* (*φυλαχθήσεται* β-*a f* $A^{\beta}$). *c i a f* read *ληφθήσεται*; *h* *λειφθήσεται*; $A^{a}$ *ἀναστήσεται φυλακή.*

18. See note on ver. 1 above.

*This (dream) was like the first dream* (α). β-*g* read "this was like the former"; A "this vision was like the first vision." $A^{\beta}$ om.

19. The first dream vision ends similarly. Cf. vi. 2.

IX. The dream vision recounted in chap. viii. took place at Bethel and is referred to in Jub. xxxii. 1. But the order of events in Jubilees is different. See

father Jacob to Isaac our father's father. 2. And my father's father blessed me according to all the words of the visions which I had seen. And he would not come with us to Bethel. 3. ⌜And when we came to Bethel⌝, my father Jacob saw a vision concerning me, that I should be their priest unto God. 4. And he rose up early in the morning, and paid tithes of all ⌜to the Lord⌝ through me. 5. And ⌜so⌝ we came to Hebron to dwell there. 6. And Isaac called me continually to put me in remembrance of the law of the Lord, even as the angel of the Lord showed unto me. 7. And he taught me the law of the priesthood, of sacrifices, whole burnt-offerings, first-fruits, freewill-

note at beginning of viii. According to our text, after witnessing this vision Levi goes up with his father Jacob and Judah to Isaac (ver. 1), who lived at Hebron (ver. 5). It was during this visit that Isaac blessed Levi (ver. 2). The blessing is recorded at length in Jub. xxxi. 13-17. At the close of this visit to Isaac, Jacob and his sons set out for Bethel to offer sacrifice there in fulfilment of a vow (Jub. xxxi. 26). On this journey Isaac refuses to accompany Jacob. Here our text (ver. 2) and Jub. xxxi. 27 agree.

*With our father Jacob to I.* ($\alpha\, d$ S). $\beta$-$d$ A$^{cdefg}$ read "to I. with our father." Isaac was living in Abraham's house (cf. Jub. xxxi. 5) in Hebron (see ver. 5 and Gen. xxxv. 27; also Aram. and Gk. Frag. ver. 11).

*Our father's father* ($\alpha$ S). Other authorities omit.

2. See Jub. xxxi. 13-17 for this blessing.

*All the words of* ($\beta$ A$^{\alpha}$ S). $\alpha$ om.

*The visions which I had seen, i.e.* ii. 5–v., viii.

*And he would not come with us* (A$^{\alpha}$ om. "with us") *to Bethel* ($\beta$ A S$^{1}$). $\alpha$ om. Cf. Jub. xxxi. 27. $a\, d\, f$ A om. next five words through hmt.

3. In Jub. xxxii. 1 this vision is assigned to Levi. Possibly the text there is corrupt, and for "Levi dreamed that they had ordained and made him priest of the Most High God" we should read "Jacob dreamed that they had ordained and made Levi priest of the Most High God." This would remove conflict that exists at present as to order between our text and Jubilees.

*Unto God* ($\beta$ S$^{1}$). A = "before the Lord." $\alpha$ om.

4. Cf. Jub. xxxii. 2, "And Jacob rose early in the morning . . . and he gave a tithe of all that came with him."

5. Isaac lived at Hebron in the house of Abraham. See ver. 1; Jub. xxxi. 5; Gen. xxxv. 27.

*So* ($\alpha$). $\beta$ A om.

*There* ($\alpha$ A). $\beta$ S$^{1}$ om.

6-14. The instructions here given by Isaac to Levi are given by Abraham to Isaac in Jub. xxi. 1, 7-9, 11-13, 16, 21-23.

6. *Isaac called me.* Cf. Jub. xxi. 1, "Abraham called Isaac."

*Put me in remembrance of the law of the Lord.* Cf. Jub. xxi. 5.

*Of the Lord* ($a\, d\, f$ A$^{\alpha}$). $b\, e\, g$ S$^{1}$ read "of God." $\alpha$ om.

7. *Law of the priesthood* (*νόμον ἱερωσύνης*). Here the Aram. and Gk. Frag. read respectively דין כהונתא and *κρίσιν ἱερωσύνης*, where דין = משפט "prerogatives." Cf. Deut. xviii. 3.

Cf. Jub. xxi. 7-9 where peace-offerings and thank-offerings are described. On the following sacrifices see *Encyc. Bib.* and Hastings *B.D. in loc.*

*Sacrifices* (*θυσιῶν* = זבחים).

*Whole burnt-offerings* (*ὁλοκαυτωμάτων* = עלות).

*First-fruits* (*ἀπαρχῶν* = ראשית).

offerings, peace-offerings. 8. And each day he was instructing me, and was busied on my behalf before the Lord, and said to me: 9. Beware of the spirit of fornication; for this shall continue and shall by thy seed pollute the holy place. 10. Take, therefore, to thyself a wife without blemish or pollution, while yet thou art young, and not of the race of strange nations. 11. And before entering into the holy place, bathe; and when thou offerest the sacrifice, wash; and again, when thou finishest the sacrifice, wash. 12. Of twelve trees having leaves offer to the Lord, as Abraham taught me also. 13. And of every clean beast ⌜and bird⌝ offer a sacrifice to the Lord. 14. And of all thy first-fruits and of wine offer the first, as a sacrifice to the Lord God; and every sacrifice thou shalt salt with salt.

X. Now, therefore, observe whatsoever I command you,

*Freewill-offerings* (ἐκουσίων = ובחי נדבה). This is treated as a kind of peace-offering in Lev. vii. 11, 16.

*Peace-offerings* (σωτηρίων = שלמים ו"). 8. *Was busied . . . and said* (β $A^{efg}S^1$). α reads "being busied on my behalf said."

9. *Beware of . . . fornication.* Cf. Jub. xxi. 21-22. This command appears in an expanded form in Aram. and Gk. Frag. 14, 16.

*Beware.* *b d e g* A Aram. and Gk. Frag. 14 and Aram. Frag. 16, add "(my) son."

*Holy place.* Or "holy things."

10. *Take, therefore, to thyself a wife.* Cf. Aram. and Gk. Frag. 17 (Appendix).

*Strange nations* (α $e^1$). β-*e* A $S^1$ read "strangers or Gentiles."

11. Cf. Jub. xxi. 16. "And at all times be clean in thy body, and wash thyself with water before thou approachest to offer on the altar, and wash thy hands and thy feet †before thou drawest near to the altar; and when thou art done sacrificing, wash again thy hands and thy feet." For "before" we should probably read "whilst." See also Aram. and Gk. Frag. 19, 21, 53.

*Wash* (νίπτου). Here we should supply "thy hands and thy feet" as is clear from the above quotation from Jubilees and from Aram. and Gk. Frag. 21, 53. α *d* $A^a$ $S^1$ om. "and again . . . wash" through hmt.

12. *Trees having leaves* (α *g*). β-*g* A read "evergreen trees." On these see Aram. and Gk. Frag. 23-24, and Jub. xxi. 12.

*As also Abraham taught me.* So in Jub. xxi. 12 Abraham instructs Isaac.

13. *And bird* (α). β $S^1$ read "and clean bird." A om.

14. *Of . . . first-fruits . . . the first* (πρωτογεννήματός σου . . . ἀπαρχάς) = בכוריך . . . ראשית. The same phrase is found in Ezek. xliv. 30, in the Hebrew and in the Greek of Sir. xlv. 20. ἀπαρχάς might also be a rendering of תרומות.

*As a sacrifice unto the Lord God* (α). *a f* read "a sacrifice unto the Lord." *d e g* $A^{\beta}$ $S^1$ read "unto the Lord." *b* om.

*And every sacrifice thou shalt salt with salt.* (α om.) Jub. xxi. 11, "And on all thy oblations thou shalt strew salt."

X. This chapter, as I pointed out in my *Eschatology*, 1899, p. 193, belongs to the first century B.C., and constitutes an attack on the later Maccabean high

children; for whatsoever things I have heard from my fathers [I have declared unto you. 2. And behold,] I am clear from your ungodliness and transgression, which ye shall commit in the end of the ages [against the Saviour of the world, Christ, acting godlessly], deceiving Israel, and stirring up against it great evils from the Lord. 3. And ye shall deal lawlessly together with Israel, so He shall not bear with Jerusalem because of your wickedness; but the veil of the temple shall be rent, so as not to cover your shame. 4. And ye shall be scattered as captives among the Gentiles, and shall be for a reproach and for a curse there. 5. For the house which the Lord shall choose shall be called Jerusalem, as is contained in the book of Enoch the righteous.

priests. See note on xiv.–xv. which belong to the same date.

*Now therefore* (β A). *c* reads "and now."

2. *And behold* (α). β A om.

*Clear from your ungodliness* (α). β A $S^1$ read "clear from all your ungodliness." Cf. xiv. 2.

[*Against the Saviour of the world, Christ, acting godlessly*]. A Christian interpolation. The words "acting godlessly" are omitted by α, and "Christ" by β A $S^1$.

*Stirring up* (ἐπεγείροντες). A familiar O.T. phrase: cf. Is. x. 26, xiii. 17, xlii. 13, etc.

3. *Together with Israel* (σὺν τῷ Ἰ. β A $S^1$). *c* reads ἐν τῷ Ἰ.

*He shall not bear with J.*, or "J. shall not bear them (*i.e.* Israel)."

*The veil of the temple shall be rent* (σχισθήσεται τὸ καταπέτασμα τοῦ ναοῦ —α). β-*d* S read σχίσαι τὸ ἔνδυμα τοῦ ναοῦ. A=σχισθήσεται τὸ ἔνδυμα τοῦ ναοῦ. In Mk. xv. 38 the words are τὸ καταπέτασμα τοῦ ναοῦ ἐσχίσθη εἰς δύο ἀπὸ ἄνωθεν ἕως κάτω, practically the same in Matthew and with some variation in Luke. The Hebrew word is פָּרֹכֶת, which is rendered rightly by καταπέτασμα in the LXX. But ἔνδυμα is decidedly a bad rendering. Possibly τοῦ ναοῦ is an interpolation and the text spoke only of a rending of their garments whereby their shame should be exposed.

4. *For a reproach and for a curse there* (α). Cf. Jer. xliv. 8, 12, xxiv. 9, xxix. 18, etc. β A read "there for a reproach and for a curse and for a trampling under foot." For the addition cf. Is. xxviii. 18.

5. The connection of this verse with what precedes is so difficult to discover that one is tempted to regard it as an addition.

*The house which the Lord shall choose*, etc. The reference appears to be to 1 En. lxxxix. 54, where Jerusalem is spoken of—"the house of the Lord." Cf. verses 40, 50, 54, 56. The Book of Enoch is again referred to twice in xiv. 1, xvi. 1 (but not in α) in this Testament—indeed only in the sections added in the first century B.C. Perhaps β A $S^1$ have wrongly added the phrase in the last two passages. It is referred to also in T. Sim. v. 4; T. Jud. xviii. 1 (α om.); T. Dan v. 6; T. Naph. iv. 1; T. Benj. ix. 1 (A om.).

An examination of the above eight passages shows that in four of the passages, *i.e.* T. Lev. x. 5, xiv. 1, xvi. 1; T. Dan v. 6, it occurs in sections belonging to the first century B.C. Furthermore, in two of these passages, T. Lev. xiv. 1, xvi. 1, α omits all reference to Enoch, and in the case of the latter of the two $A^a$ also. Further, in xvi. 1 the reference is not to Enoch but really to Dan. ix. 24. Now, turning to

XI. Therefore when I took a wife I was twenty-eight years old, and her name was Melcha. 2. And she conceived and bare a son, and I called his name Gersam, for we were sojourners in our land. 3. And I saw concerning him, that he would not be in the first rank. 4. And Kohath was born in the thirty-fifth year [of my life], towards sunrise. 5. And I saw in a vision that he was standing on high in the midst of all the congregation. 6. Therefore I called his name Kohath [which is, beginning of majesty and instruction]. 7. And she bare me a third son, Merari, in the fortieth year of my life; and since his mother

the other four passages which belong to the original text of the Testaments, we find that all the authorities agree in citing the writings of Enoch in two of them, T. Sim. v. 4; T. Naph. iv. 1. As regards the remaining two, however, the authorities are divided. *α* omits all reference to Enoch in T. Jud. xviii. 1, while in T. Benj. ix. 1, A reads "words of the fathers" instead of "words of the righteous Enoch" (*cβ*S[1]).

The impression left on the mind by the above facts is unsatisfactory, and it is not improved, when we observe further, that in T. Iss. vi. 1; T. Gad viii. 2; T. Ash. vii. 2 at the beginning of analogous predictions as to the future of their tribes, Issachar, Gad, and Asher simply say "I know." Now it is not improbable that this or a like simple phrase stood originally in several of the passages where now the writings of Enoch are cited as the source of the prediction that follows. It is noteworthy that in S[2] it is introduced in T. Ash. ii. 10, vii. 1, 5.

*Which the Lord shall choose.* Cf. Deut. xii. 5, 11, 12, 18, etc.

XI. *Twenty-eight.* See xii. 5.

*Melcha.* So also in Gk. and Syr. Frag. and Jub. xxxiv. 20.

2. *I called* (*hd*S[1] Gk. Frag. 63). *ciabef*A[β] read "he called."

*Gersam.* Cf. Gen. xlvi. 11.

*Sojourners.* Observe the play on words as in Exod. ii. 22. The son was called גֵּרְשֹׁם, *i.e.* גֵּר שָׁם (="a stranger there"), because they were גֵּרִים ("strangers") in the land.

*Sojourners in our land* (*β*S[1]). *α* reads "in a land of sojourning"; A "sojourners in the land in which we were." Cf. Gk. Frag. 63. Here *bdeA*S[1] add a gloss "For Gersam is interpreted sojourning" against *αafg* and Gk. Frag. 63.

3. Here the Gk. Frag. 64 reads "And regarding the child I saw in my vision that he and his seed would be expelled from the dignity of the priesthood. 5. I was thirty years when he was born in my lifetime, and it was in the tenth month that he was born at sunset (*ἐπὶ δυσμὰς ἡλίου*)." That the last clause belongs to the original narrative may be reasonably inferred from the fact that Kohath the approved son was, according to the next verse, born at sunrise.

4. *Thirty-fifth.* Aram. (and Gk.?) Frag. 68 read "thirty-fourth."

*Of my life* (*α*). *β*AS[1] om.

5. The Aram. and Gk. Frag. 67 read: "I saw that upon him (*ἐπ' αὐτῷ*) would be the congregation of all the people, and that to him would belong the high priesthood [+he and his seed would be a beginning of kings (*ἀρχὴ βασιλέων*), a priesthood, Gk.] over all Israel" (Aram. om.).

6. [*Which is, beginning of majesty and instruction*]. Bracketed as a gloss. There is no attempt at an explanation of the name in the Aram. and Gk. Frag. 66-67.

bare him with difficulty, I called him Merari, that is my bitterness, because he also was like to die. 8. And Jochebed was born in Egypt, in my sixty-fourth year, for I was renowned then in the midst of my brethren.

XII. And Gersam took a wife, and she bare to him Lomni and Semei. 2. And the sons of Kohath, Ambram, Issachar, Hebron, and Ozeel. 3. And the sons of Merari, Mooli and Mouses. 4. And [in my ninty-fourth year] Ambram took Jochebed my daughter to him to wife, for they were born in one day, he and my daughter. 5. Eight years old was I when I went into the land of Canaan, and eighteen years when I slew Shechem, and at nineteen years I became priest, and at twenty-eight years I took a wife, and at forty-eight I went into Egypt. 6. And behold, my children, ye are a third generation. 7. In my hundred-and-eighteenth year Joseph died.

7. *I called* (*c i e* $A^{a\,h}$ Aram. and Gk. Frag. 69). *h b d f* $A^{b}\beta S^{1}$ read "she called."

*Merari . . . my bitterness* ($\beta$ A $S^{1}$). An obvious paronomasia. For "which is my bitterness," Aram. and Gk. Frag. read "for I grieved greatly (Gk. om.) for him." $\alpha$ reads 'M. that is bitterness."

*Because he also was like to die* ($\beta S^{1}$ Aram. Frag. 70). $\alpha$ A om. There is here an interesting dittograph in the Aram. Frag.

8. *Jochebed . . . for I was renowned* (*ἔνδοξος*). Here we have a play on the proper name. יכבד . . . בכבוד.

*For I was renowned*, etc. The Aram. Frag. 71 reads: "I said when she was born to me. For honour is she born to me, for glory (לכבוד) unto Israel."

XII. 1. *She bare to him* ($\beta$ A). $\alpha S^{1}$ read "he begat by her" Lomni and Semei. Cf. Exod. vi. 17, where the Massoretic has Libni and Shimei, and the LXX Λοβενί and Σεμεεί (A Σεμεί).

2-3. Cf. Exod. vi. 18-19.

*Mooli* (*b* $S^{1}$). *d* reads "Maale," *c a f* Mothli, Massoretic "Mahli."

*Mouses* (*a*). *a f* read Omouse, LXX Ὁμουσεί, Massoretic Mushi.

5-7. $\alpha$ om.

5. *Eight years.* So also the Syr. Frag. According to the Aram. Frag. 78, Levi was eighteen. But according to Jub. xxviii. 14, xxix. 14, Levi's age was nine years.

*Eighteen years.* According to Jub. xxx. 2 Dinah was ravished at the age of twelve, and as Dinah was six years younger than Levi (cf. Jub. xxviii. 14, 23), Levi was eighteen as stated in our text. So also the Syr. Frag. and the Aram. Frag.

*Nineteen years.* According to Jub. xxx. 17 sqq., Levi was appointed to the priesthood for slaying Shechem.

*Priest. a f* A add "to the Lord."

*Forty-eight.* The "eight" is preserved only in the Aram. Frag. 79. This date agrees with T. Jud. xii. 12, according to which Judah, who was two years younger than Levi (Jub. xxviii. 14, 15), was forty-six when he went down into Egypt. But according to Jub. xxviii. 14, 15, compared with Jub. xlv. 1, Levi was forty-five and Judah forty-three. See note on T. Jud. xii. 12.

*In my hundred and eighteenth year.* As Joseph died at the age of 110 years, Levi was eight years old, according to our text, at Joseph's birth. But accord-

XIII. And now, my children, I command you:
Fear the Lord your God ⌜with your whole heart⌝,
And walk in simplicity according to all His law.
2. And do ye also teach your children letters,
That they may have understanding all their life,
Reading unceasingly the law of God.
3. For every one that knoweth the law of the Lord shall be honoured,
And shall not be a stranger whithersoever he goeth.
4. Yea, many friends shall he gain more than his parents,
And many men shall desire to serve him,
And to hear the law from his mouth.
5. Work righteousness, ⌜therefore,⌝ my children, upon the earth,
That ye may have (it) as a treasure in heaven.

ing to Jub. xxviii. 14, compared with xxviii. 24, Joseph was born in the year 2134 A.M., seven years after Levi. But there is a greater divergence according to the later chapters of Jubilees. Thus Joseph died at the age of 110, in the year 2242 according to Jub. xlvi. 3, 1. He was, therefore, born in the year 2132.

XIII. With this noble poem in praise of the wise man cf. Sir. xxxix. 9-11.

*Simplicity.* So all authorities but $A^a$, which reads "uprightness." *a g* add "of heart," *e* "of soul."

2. *Teach your children letters.* Cf. T. Reub. iv. 1. *a* om. ver. 2.

3. *The Lord* (*a d* $A^a$). *β-d* read "God."

4. *Shall desire to serve him.* Cf. Sir. x. 25, *οἱ κέτῃ σοφῷ ἐλεύθεροι λειτουργήσουσιν.*

5. *Righteousness.* δικαιοσύνη here may be regarded as ἐλεημοσύνη, which is occasionally used in the LXX as a rendering of צדקה. Cf. Deut. vi. 25, xxiv. 13; Ps. xxiii. 5, etc.

*Have (it) as a treasure.* $\beta$ $A^\beta$ S read εὕρητε, "find"; *a* ὑγιασμένοι ἦτε, "may be healed, made sound." Both appear corrupt. εὕρητε = תמצאו, and ὑγιασμένοι ἦτε = תרפאו, both of which appear to be corruptions of תאצרו = θησαυρίσητε. With *d* we can then supply αὐτήν = righteousness. Hence we read in the text, "have it as treasure." Cf. Matt. vi. 20 θησαυρίζετε δὲ ὑμῖν θησαυροὺς ἐν οὐρανῷ. Tobit iv. 8-9 ὡς σοὶ ὑπάρχει κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος ποίησον ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐλεημοσύνην . . . θέμα γὰρ ἀγαθὸν θησαυρίζεις σεαυτῷ εἰς ἡμέραν ἀνάγκης. Also Pea 15b, B. Bathra 11a, according to which King Monobazus (circ. 10 A.D.) replied to his relatives: "My fathers collected treasures on earth, I in heaven: my fathers collected treasures which yield no interest, I such as yield interest, etc." This idea of treasuring up good works was a familiar one in Judaism. Whoever does righteousness treasures up for himself life before God (Pss. Sol. ix. 9 ὁ ποιῶν δικαιοσύνην θησαυρίζει ζωὴν ἑαυτῷ παρὰ κυρίῳ): his righteous deeds are preserved before God, Pss. Sol. ix. 6; 1 En. xxxviii. 2. Thus the righteous possess a treasure of good works with God, 4 Ezra vii. 77; Apoc. Bar. xiv. 12; Shabbath 31b. Finally, the righteous will be rewarded according to their good works so treasured up, Apoc. Bar. xxiv. 1; 4 Ezra viii. 33. For later passages see Dalman, *Worte Jesu* 169; Weber, *Jüd. Theologie*[2] 279 sqq., 302 sqq.

6. And sow good things in your souls,
That ye may find them in your life.
But if ye sow evil things,
Ye shall reap every trouble and affliction.
7. Get wisdom in the fear of God with diligence;
For though there be a leading into captivity,
And cities and lands be destroyed,
And gold and silver and every possession perish,
The wisdom of the wise naught can take away,
Save the blindness of ungodliness, and the callousness (that comes) of sin.
8. ⌜For if one keep oneself from these evil things,⌝
Then even among his enemies shall wisdom be a glory to him,
And in a strange country a fatherland,
And in the midst of foes shall prove a friend.
9. Whosoever teaches noble things and does them,
Shall be enthroned with kings,
As was also Joseph my brother.

*α*, $A^{\alpha}$

XIV. Therefore, my chil-

*β*, $A^{\beta}$ $S^{1}$

XIV. And now, my chil-

6. *Sow evil*, etc. Cf. Prov. xxii. 8.

7. *With diligence* (*β* A $S^{1}$). *α* $A^{\alpha}$ om.

*For* (*β* A $S^{1}$). *α* reads "in order that."

*Naught.* Text reads *οὐδείς*, which I emend into *οὐδέν*.

*The blindness of ungodliness.* Cf. xiv. 4.

8. *For if . . . evil things* (*α*). *d* reads "But if one keep these." *β-d* A S om.

*Then* (*a a e f* $S^{1}$). *b g* A read "for" (*ὅτι*).

*Wisdom* (*a d* A). *β-d* read "it" (*αὐτή*).

9. *Whosoever teaches . . . and does.* Cf. Matt. v. 19, vii. 24, 26.

*Noble* (*α*). *β* A read "these."

*My* (*a d*). *a b f* A $S^{1}$ read "our."

XIV.–XVI. Throughout the Testaments, save in the case of a few chapters which are at variance with their respective contents, Levi and his priestly descendants are held up as the leaders in all godliness, and the rest of the descendants of Jacob are required to render them unquestioning obedience. The ground for this attitude we have found to be the fact that the Maccabean chiefs who are at once the religious, civil, and military heads of the nation are descendants of Levi. The date is late in the latter half of the second century B.C. At such a glorious time no word could be raised against either the purity or greatness of the noble Maccabean prince-priests. But in x., xiv.–xvi. the tone of the writer has absolutely changed. He cannot find language strong enough to condemn their lewdness and baseness. The high priests are plunged in transgression xiv. 2, if they teach the command-

dren, I have learnt that at the end of the ages ye will

dren, I have learnt from the writing of Enoch that in the

ments it is from covetous motives xiv. 6, they corrupt the law xvi. 2, and teach contrary to God's ordinances xiv. 4: they are puffed up by the greatness of their office xiv. 7, yet they profane it xvi. 1, they pollute the sacrifices xvi. 1, they take the choicest parts of them and eat them contemptuously with harlots xiv. 5, they scoff at the holy things with jests and laughter xiv. 8, they defile virgins, pollute wedded women and join themselves to harlots and adulteresses xiv. 6, they take the daughters of the Gentiles to wife and purify them by an unlawful purification xiv. 6. Moreover, they persecute the righteous and hate the godly xvi. 2. Accordingly God will not bear with Jerusalem because of their wickedness x. 3: the Temple shall be laid waste xv. 1, and they shall go into captivity x. 4, xv. 1, 2, xvi. 5, where they shall be a scorn to the Gentiles xiv. 1, a reproach x. 4, an abomination xv. 2, a curse and a dispersion x. 4, xvi. 5.

From the above it is clear that these chapters could not have been written by the author of the Testaments nor by any writer in the palmy days of the Maccabees. They might conceivably have been written at three different dates: either (i.) after 70 A.D., or (ii.) between 70-50 B.C., or (iii.) before 170 B.C., *i.e.* before the worst period of the persecution of Antiochus. (i.) The first date would explain the phrases that are obviously of Christian origin and the references to the destruction of the temple and the captivity of the Jews. But (*a*) after 70 A.D. there would have been no grounds for such a virulent attack as appears in our text on the Sadducean party; for with the destruction of the Temple and of Jerusalem they lost all influence and disappeared from history. A century later the Mishna knows them only by tradition. (*b*) Again as regards the charge of persecuting the righteous, brought in our text against the Sadducean priests, it is only necessary to observe that from 63 B.C.—the appointment of the Pharisaic Hyrcanus as a vassal king by the Romans—the Pharisees enjoyed an uninterrupted political and religious ascendancy over the nation, and could not therefore have been subject to persecution at the hands of the Sadducees. (*c*) So far as we are aware the priestly party of the first century A.D. could not be accused of the gross immoralities mentioned in our text. (*d*) Although the captivity of the Jews is foretold and the desolation of the Temple, there is no allusion to the destruction of Jerusalem, nor to the almost practical annihilation of the nation on that occasion. Hence we conclude that chapters x., xiv.-xvi. were not written after 70 A.D.

Between the two other possible dates it is difficult to decide with certainty. The charges in our text could be maintained both against the Hellenistic priests of 200-170 B.C., and the Sadducean priests of 100-60 B.C. Both were guilty of the most gross immoralities and of breaches of ceremonial purity, and both alike persecuted the righteous, the former probably in a greater degree. But on the following grounds the earlier date seems to be excluded. (1) Since the interpretation of Jeremiah's seventy years as seventy weeks of years first appears in Dan. ix. 24, the reference to this interpretation in xvi. 1 demands a later date than 160 B.C., and as no such charges as those in our text could have been formulated against the earlier Maccabean high priests, the date of these chapters cannot have been earlier than the first century B.C. Between 160 and 100 B.C. there would have been no adequate grounds for such an embittered attack on the Hellenising high priests which had already been displaced and whose evil activities were a thing of the past. (2) In x. 5 a quotation is made from 1 En. lxxxix. 54, but this section of Enoch was not written till 164 B.C. at earliest. (3) The charge of eating portions of the sacrifices in public with harlots was actually true in the case of Alexander Jannaeus. See note on xiv. 5.

Thus the balance of evidence appears to be in favour of the years 70-50 B.C. as the date of composition. On the

transgress against the Lord, stretching out hands to wickedness [against Him]; and to all the Gentiles shall ye become a scorn.

end ye will transgress against the Lord, stretching out hands to all wickedness; and your brethren shall be put to shame because of you, and to all the Gentiles shall ye become a scorn.

2. For our father Israel is pure from the transgressions of the chief priests [who shall lay their hands upon the Saviour of the world].

| α, $A^{\alpha}$ | β $S^{1}$ | $A^{\beta}$ |
|---|---|---|
| 3. For as the heaven is purer in the | 3. The heaven is purer than the earth, | 3. My children, be ye pure as the heaven |

other hand, if we might regard the phrase "seventy weeks" as an early current interpretation subsequently appearing in the Book of Daniel, and the quotation in x. 5 from 1 En. lxxxix. 54 as a subsequent addition, it would not be hard to believe that the Hellenising high priests had been guilty of eating the Temple sacrifices along with their paramours.

1. *Therefore* (α). $A^{\alpha}$ = "And therefore," $A^{\beta}$ $S^{1}$ "and now." See note in x. 5.

*Have learnt . . .* β A $S^{1}$ add "from the writing of Enoch" against α. The words that follow are not found in Enoch, though we might compare 1 En. xci. 6, xciii. 9. See T. Lev. x. 5, note.

*Of the ages* (α A). β $S^{1}$ om.

*Transgress against the Lord* (ἀσεβήσετε ἐπὶ Κυρίον = תפשעו ב). Cf. Jer. ii. 8, iii. 13 for this phrase.

*Transgress against the Lord, stretching out hands to all wickedness* (ἀσεβήσετε ἐπὶ Κυρίον, χεῖρας ἐπιβάλλοντες ἐν πάσῃ κακίᾳ — ἀσεβεῖν is the usual rendering of פשע and χεῖρας ἐπιβάλλειν of יד שלח β $S^{1}$, cf. Job xxviii. 9). If the clause χεῖρας . . . κακίᾳ is original, it should be rendered as above. It must, however, be admitted that it would be more natural to translate "transgress, laying hands on the Lord in all wickedness." If this rendering alone can be justified then we must reject χεῖρας ἐπιβάλλοντες and render "transgress against the Lord in all wickedness." α should then be translated: "transgress against the Lord, laying hands in wickedness upon him." A = "transgress (+ as all the heathen will do $A^{\beta}$) and your hands you shall lay on your ($A^{\beta}$ om.) Lord in all wickedness" ($A^{\beta}$ om. "in all wickedness").

*A scorn.* Cf. Ps. xliv. 13, lxxix. 4. $A^{\alpha}$ om. verses 2-4 to "wish to destroy" inclusive.

2. *Pure from the transgressions* (καθαρός . . . ἀπὸ τῆς ἀσεβείας). Cf. T. Sim. vi. 1 for a similar statement.

*Transgressions of the chief priests.* These words would in themselves refer equally well to the pre-Maccabean priests and to the later Maccabean. But the former is in part excluded by the date of the book, and ver. 5 makes it clear that we have here to do with Alexander Jannaeus.

[*Who shall lay hands*, etc.]. Christian interpolation.

3. The α version is undoubtedly the clearest. Its text has as rendered above been corrected in two points. For "heaven" it reads "sun," *i.e.*

Lord's sight than the earth, so also be ye, the lights of Israel, (purer) than all the Gentiles.

4. But if ye be darkened through transgressions, what, therefore, will all the Gentiles do living in blindness? Yea, ye shall bring a curse upon our race, because the light of the law which was given for to lighten every man,

and ye, the lights of Israel, are †as sun and moon.

4. What will all the Gentiles do, if ye be darkened through transgressions? Yea, ye shall bring a curse upon our race, because the light of the law which was given to lighten every man, this ye shall desire to destroy by teaching com-

is (purer) than the earth: and ye, who are the lights of Israel, shall be †as the sun and moon.

4. What will all the Gentiles do, if ye be darkened through transgression? Yea, curses will come upon your race, and the light which was given through the law to lighten you and every man ye shall desire to destroy, and teach

ἥλιος = שֶׁמֶשׁ, which is corrupt for שְׁמַיִם = οὐρανός = "heaven" (so β $A^{\beta}$). The same corruption is found in LXX in Jos. viii. 29; Eccles. i. 13, ii. 3, iii. 1 in some MSS. Again for "purer than the earth" it reads καθαρὸς ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν where ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν = בארץ, corrupt for מאור or מהארץ = ὑπὲρ τὴν γῆν as in β.

As regards the versions β and $A^{\beta}$ as compared with α it might be argued that they have preserved the phrase "sun and moon," which α has replaced with "all the gentiles"—a phrase drawn from the next verse. This, of course, is possible, but as they stand both versions are corrupt. "As the sun" = ὡς ὁ ἥλιος = כשמש, corrupt for משמים. Hence render, "and ye, the lights of Israel, are (purer) than the sun and moon."

4. *If ye be darkened through transgression.* Our author is very fond of contrasting light and darkness in their relation to sin and righteousness, T. Lev. xix. 1. All kinds of sin blind the soul or mind, T. Reub. iii. 8; T. Lev. xiii. 7, xiv. 4; T. Jos. vii. 5. Hatred and anger darken the mind, T. Dan ii. 4; T. Gad iii. 3, vi. 2: also fornication and covetousness T. Jud. xviii. 3, 6, no angry man can truly see his brother's face T. Dan ii. 2 (cf. T. Benj. iii. 2). Hence the sinner walketh in the day as in the night, T. Jud. xviii. 6. On the other hand, true repentance driveth away darkness and enlighteneth the eyes T. Gad v. 7. See also the note on xviii. 3.

*Because.* Text has ὑπὲρ ὧν a misrendering of על-אשר.

*The light of the law.* Cf. Wisd. xviii. 4 τὸ ἄφθαρτον νόμου φῶς. In Prov. vi. 23 "the law is light." The metaphor of light is often applied in a spiritual sense: cf. Is. ii. 5; Ps. cxix. 105.

*Light . . . to lighten every man* (φῶς . . . εἰς φωτισμὸν παντὸς ἀνθρώπου). St. John i. 9 is based on our text: ἦν τὸ φῶς τὸ ἀλ.ὸ φωτίζει πάντα ἄνθρωπον.

*Teaching commandments contrary,* etc. We cannot determine what these specifically were owing to want of documents. The later Maccabean high priests were, however, charged by the Pharisees with breaking the ceremonial law. Thus at the Feast of Tabernacles, where each worshipper carried a palm and a citron, Alexander Jannaeus was

this ye desire to destroy by teaching commandments contrary to the ordinances of God.

mandments contrary to the ordinances of God.

your commandments contrary to the ordinances of God.

5. The offerings of the Lord ye shall rob, and from His portion shall ye steal choice portions, eating (them) contemptuously with harlots. 6. And out of covetousness ye shall teach the commandments of the Lord, wedded women shall ye pollute, ⌜and the virgins of Jerusalem shall ye defile⌝; and with harlots and adulteresses shall ye be joined,

once pelted by the assembled people with the citrons when he was about to offer sacrifice at the altar (Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 13. 5; *Bell. Jud.* i. 4. 3). The Talmud, *Sukka* 48$^{b}$ relates that a Sadducean priest was once so assailed for pouring the usual libation of water not on the altar but on the earth. Possibly the same event is referred to here. Cf. Schürer, *H.J.P.* I. i. 300-301. In the Pss. of Solomon viii. 12, 13 the Maccabean priests are accused of making a spoil of the dedicated gifts or of the temple, and of breaking the strict Levitical laws (Lev. xv. 31), which forbade the approach of the ceremonially unclean to the altar. Generally it might be said the Sadducees refused to acknowledge the binding force of the oral law (Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 10. 6, xviii. 1, 4); and rejected the Pharisaic laws of purification. They disagreed with the Pharisees in fixing the date of the Feast of Pentecost (see Jub. xv. 1 note).

5. A$^{\alpha}$ omits this verse and ver. 6 to "defile and" inclusive.

*The offerings of the Lord ye shall rob.* Cf. Pss. Sol. viii. 12 τὰ ἅγια τοῦ θεοῦ διήρπαζον. This charge, if we may trust Talmudic sources, could with justice have been brought against Simon ben Shetach, the Pharisee who was said to have been a brother of Salome the wife of Alexander Jannaeus. This Pharisee applied to his own uses half the offerings presented by 300 Nazarites in the Temple. See Schürer, *H.J.P.* I. i. 299.

*Steal choice portions* (*a a f*). *b d e g* A$^{\beta}$ read "Steal: and before sacrificing to the Lord ye shall take the choice portions."

*Eating them contemptuously with harlots.* The reference to Alexander Jannaeus seems undeniable. The very words in our text are applied to him by Josephus (*Ant.* xiii. 14. 2), when with the utmost savagery he celebrated his victory over the Pharisaic party: κατακλείσας δὲ τοὺς δυνατωτάτους αὐτῶν ἐν Βεθόμῃ πόλει ἐπολιόρκει· λαβὼν δὲ τὴν πόλιν καὶ γενόμενος ἐγκρατὴς αὐτῶν ἀπήγαγεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, καὶ πάντων ὠμότατον ἔργον ἔδρασεν. Ἑστιώμενος γὰρ ἐν ἀπόπτῳ μετὰ τῶν παλλακίδων ἀνασταυρῶσαι προσέταξεν αὐτῶν εἰς ὀκτακοσίους. Josephus' phrase ἐν ἀπόπτῳ appears more apt than ἐν καταφρονήσει.

6. *Out of covetousness ye shall teach,* etc. Cf. Mic. iii. 11 "the priests thereof teach for hire." 1 Pet. v. 2 "Tend the flock . . . not for filthy lucre."

*Wedded women,* etc. Cf. the charges of immorality brought against Sadducean faction in Pss. Sol. iv. 5, 6, 11, 12, 15, 23.

⌜*And the virgins of Israel* (*b g* "Jerusalem") *shall ye defile.*⌝ Only found in *β*. Cf. for diction, Pss. Sol. ii. 14 θυγατέρες Ἱερουσολὴμ βέβηλοι κατὰ τὸ κρίμα σου.

*With harlots and adulteresses.* Cf. Pss. Sol. iv. 23.

and the daughters of the Gentiles shall ye take to wife, purifying them with an unlawful purification; and your union shall be like unto Sodom and Gomorrah. 7. And ye shall be puffed up because of your priesthood, lifting yourselves up against men, and not only so, but also against the commands of God. 8. For ye shall contemn the holy things with jests and laughter.

XV. Therefore the temple, which the Lord shall choose, shall be laid waste through your uncleanness, and ye shall be captives throughout all nations. 2. And ye shall be an abomination unto them, and ye shall receive reproach

*Daughters of the Gentiles shall ye take to wife.* The prohibition to intermarry with the Canaanites is found in Deut. vii. 3. (Cf. Gen. xxiv. 3; xxvi. 34; xxvii. 46, etc.) The ground stated for this prohibition was that such intermarriage would lead to idolatry (Deut. vii. 4; Mal. ii. 11). This prohibition was suspended in the case of a captive woman during war (Deut. xxi. 10-13). From Ezra onward this prohibition was extended to all Gentiles (Ezra ix. 1-2, x. 10-11; Neh. x. 30). In Jubilees—a contemporary work with the Testaments—we see the results of the reaction that followed on the excesses committed by the Hellenising Jews, who in contravention to the recognised law of the time "joined themselves to the heathen" (1 Macc. i. 15; Aboda zara $36^b$, Sanh. $82^b$). In Jub. xxx. 7 (see my note on xxx. 10 with rabbinic parallels), any man who gave his daughter to a Gentile was to be stoned. See Bertholet, *Stellung der Isr. zu den Fremden*, iv. 1, v. 2; *Jewish Encyc.* vi. 610 sq.

*Purifying them with an unlawful purification.* These words which are found in $\beta$ A are omitted by $\alpha$. Their meaning is doubtful. It is possible that the Testaments here join hands with the Book of Jubilees in absolutely prohibiting intermarriage with Gentiles. But it is clear that certain rules of purification were regarded as an inadequate preparation for such a marriage. In later times the prohibition against intermarriage with converted Gentiles was not enforced (Yad. iv. 4; Kidd. v. 4). See *Jewish Encyc.* vi. 611.

*Union* (μίξις). Here the sin of mixed marriages alone seems to be referred to. The writer regards them as sinful as the Sodomitic enormities. For the same phraseology implying gross sins of impurity, Pss. Sol. ii. 14, 15, xvii. 17; Apoc. Bar. lx. 1.

*Like unto Sodom*, etc. Cf. Jude 7.

*Gomorrah.* $\beta$ adds "in transgression."

7. *Your priesthood* ($\alpha$ *d* A). $\beta$-*d* read "the priesthood."

*Lifting up yourselves against men* ($\alpha\,\beta\,A^a$). $A^\beta$ om.

8. *For ye shall contemn*, etc. ($\alpha$). $\beta\,A^\beta$ read "Being puffed up ye shall contemn (*a e f.* *b d g* read "mock," $A^\beta$ "disturb") the holy things, turning them to laughter with contempt."

*Contemn the holy things* (or "the temple" τὰ ἅγια). For phrase cf. 2 Macc. iv. 14; Wisdom xiv. 30.

XV. 1-2. I take these verses as a *bona fide* prediction.

1. *The temple which the Lord shall choose.* Cf. x. 5.

*Shall be laid waste.* Cf. xvi. 4. The sanctuary was so laid waste under Antiochus Epiphanes: 1 Macc. i. 39 τὸ ἁγίασμα αὐτῆς ἠρημώθη ὡς ἔρημος. According to iv. 38, when Judas and his followers entered Jerusalem they found τὸ ἁγίασμα . . . ἠρημωμένον.

*Your uncleanness* ($\alpha$ S). $\beta\,A^\beta$ read "uncleanness" (+"and rapine" $A^\beta$).

and everlasting shame from the righteous judgment of God. 3. And all who hate you shall rejoice at your destruction. 4. And if you were not to receive mercy through Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, our fathers, not one of our seed should be left upon the earth.

XVI. And now I have learnt that for seventy weeks ye shall go astray, and profane the priesthood, and pollute the sacrifices. 2. And ye shall make void the law, and set at nought the words of the prophets by evil perverseness. And ye shall persecute righteous men, and hate the godly; the words of the faithful shall ye abhor. 3. [And a man who reneweth the law in the power of the Most High, ye

3. *Who hate you* (*a a e f* S). *b d g* $A^{\beta}$ read "who see you."

*Shall rejoice at your destruction* (*a*). $\beta$ $A^{\beta}$ read "shall flee from you." The variation seems to have arisen from a confusion of יחדו and ירדו.

4. "*If ye were not to receive mercy through*" (*a*). $\beta$ A $S^{1}$ read "if it were not for the sake of."

*Our seed* ($c^{1}$ $A^{a}$). *h* $c^{2}$ *d* $A^{\beta}$ read "your seed," $\beta$-*d* S "my seed." According to $\beta$-*d* the extermination of the descendants of Levi is designed. The other readings might be similarly interpreted, though they might also refer to Israel as a whole.

XVI. 1. *I have learnt.* Here $\beta$ $A^{\beta}$S add "in the book of Enoch" against *a*. $A^{a}$ unhappily is defective here and omits "and now . . . in the book of Enoch that." But the reference is clearly from Dan. ix. 24 where the seventy years of Jeremiah are interpreted to be seventy weeks of years. In 1 En. lxxxix. 59 seventy shepherds, *i.e.* the seventy patron angels of the nations are mentioned, to whose care Israel was committed for a time.

*Profane the priesthood.* Cf. Neh. xiii. 29.

*Pollute the sacrifices, i.e.* by approaching the altar when unclean. Cf. Pss. Sol. viii. 13 ἐμίαινον τὰς θυσίας ὡς κρέα βέβηλα: ii. 3 ἐβέβηλουν τὰ δῶρα τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν ἀνομίαις: viii. 26 ἐμίαναν . . . τὰ ἡγιασμένα τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ θεοῦ: Ass. Mos. vi. 1. For "sacrifices" *a* reads "altars." With this reading cf. 1 Macc. iv. 38, according to which Judas and his followers found τὸ θυσιαστήριον βεβηλωμένον, but this profanation was due to Antiochus IV.

*Make void the law and set at naught the words of his prophets by evil perverseness.* Cf. 1 En. xcix. 2 "woe to them who pervert the words of uprightness and transgress the eternal law": also xcviii. 14, civ. 9, 10.

*By evil perversion* (*a*). $A^{\beta}S^{2}$ read "by perversion," $A^{\beta}$ om.

*Persecute righteous men.* This charge is brought against the Sadducean party in 1 En. ciii. 14, 15.

3. I have with some hesitation bracketed this verse as a Christian interpolation, or else as recast by Christian scribes. I have written the notes mainly from the standpoint of this latter alternative. The omission of the verse would not really damage the context.

*A man who reneweth the law . . . ye shall call a deceiver.* We have no means of discovering this reference. Could Onias, who refused to pray for Hyrcanus II. the high priest and his party against Aristobulus II. and his party, and was thereupon stoned, be meant here? This Onias was commemorated as a righteous man whose prayers were effectual with God: cf. Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 2. 1, 2. Or if we refer these chapters to the second century

shall call a deceiver; and at last ye shall rush (upon him) to slay him, not knowing his dignity, taking innocent blood through wickedness upon your heads]. 4. And your holy places shall be laid waste even to the ground because of †him. 5. And ye shall have no place that is clean; but ye shall be among the Gentiles a curse and a dispersion until He shall again visit you, and in pity shall receive you [through faith and water].

XVII. And whereas ye have heard concerning the

B.C. might the person alluded to be the high priest Onias III., whose murder is referred to in Dan. ix. 26, xi. 22; 2 Macc. iv. 33-36, and is included among the Chasids in 1 En. xc. 8: or Joshua who was slain by his brother John the high priest in the temple. On account of this murder the people were enslaved and the temple polluted by the Persians, *Ant.* xi. 7. 1.

*In the power of the Most High* ($\alpha\beta S^1$). $A^\beta$ read "of the Most High." $A^\alpha$ om.

*Ye shall call a deceiver.* The fact that our Lord is so called in Matt. xxvii. 63 (ἐκεῖνος ὁ πλάνος) renders this clause suspicious.

*Ye shall rush (upon him) to slay him* ($\alpha$). $\beta A^\beta S$ read "ye shall slay him as ye ($A^\beta I$) suppose." $A^\alpha$ = "ye shall slay him." The variants $\beta A^\beta$ may (?) have arisen through a dittography in the Hebrew, or rather may be due to a Christian scribe. See my Text *in loc.*

*Dignity* ($\alpha\beta S^1$ ἀνάστημα). $A^{b*cde}$ read ἀνάστασιν through a mistranslation of ἀνάστημα. $A^\alpha$ = δικαιοσύνην, but is merely a corruption of text in $A^{b*cde}$.

*Taking innocent blood . . . upon your heads.* $A^\alpha$ adds "and upon the head of your sons." These words seem to be dependent on Matt. xxvii. 24, 25 ἀθῷός εἰμι ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος τούτου . . . τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ τέκνα ἡμῶν. We should, however, observe that Josephus (*Ant.* xiv. 2. 1, 2) observes that God avenged immediately the murder of Onias, and in 2 Macc. iv. 38 the execution of the murderer of Onias III. is recorded.

*Through wickedness* ($\alpha\beta S^1$). A = "through your wickedness."

4. *And* ($\beta$-*b* A). *b* $S^1$ om. *a* reads "and I say unto you," a reading which may be borrowed from the NT. It is not elsewhere thus used in the Testaments.

*Because of him* (διὰ αὐτόν). So all authorities but *g* which reads "because of it" (διὰ τοῦτο). If we om. ver. 3 we should read as *g* (so Schnapp, *Test. XII. Patriarchs*, p. 34).

*Laid waste.* $\beta A^\beta S$ add "polluted" against $\alpha A^\alpha$.

5. *Receive you.* [Through faith and water]. So $\alpha\beta$-$e^1$A $S^1$; but $e^1A^\alpha$ om. These words are of Christian origin. We could, however, in part defend their presence in a Jewish text; for baptism was already in use among the Jews at the beginning of the Christian era; see Art. *in loc.* in the *Jewish Encyc.* Next, in 4 Ezra ix. 7, xiii. 23 we find that faith is one of the means of salvation, and that God will guard those who possess works and faith. See also Apoc. Bar. liv. 16, 21 (note in my edition), lvii. 2, etc.

XVII. This is a most unintelligible chapter. The first nine verses are either defectively transmitted or are an intrusion in the text, having taken the place of a section which naturally led up to verses 10-11. They were possibly added at the same time as x., xiv.-xvi. or subsequently. The original text resumes with ver. 10. There are no sure means of determining the date.

seventy weeks, hear also concerning the priesthood. 2. For in each jubilee there shall be a priesthood. And in the first jubilee, the first who is anointed to the priesthood shall be great, and shall speak to God as to a father. And his priesthood shall be perfect with the Lord, [and in the day of his gladness shall he arise for the salvation of the world]. 3. In the second jubilee, he that is anointed shall be conceived in the sorrow of beloved ones; and his priesthood shall be honoured and shall be glorified by all. 4. And the third priest shall be taken hold of by sorrow. 5. And the fourth shall be in pain, because unrighteousness shall gather itself against him exceedingly, and all Israel shall hate each one his neighbour. 6. The fifth shall be

The speaker in this fragment was probably *not* Levi.

1. *Heard concerning the seventy weeks.* This phrase betrays the hand of the interpolator. No account of the seventy weeks has been rendered, they have only been mentioned in xvi. 1.

2. *Jubilee.* A jubilee consisted of forty-nine or fifty years. See my edition of Jubilees, pp. xv, lxvii, lxviii). Seven jubilees are spoken of in the text, but it is uncertain when the first or any one of them begins or ends.

*The first who is anointed.* If we must suppose that in this fragment the speaker was originally Levi, then the first priest must be either Levi or one of his descendants. That is, there can be no reference here to Melchizedek. Although there is difficulty in supposing Levi to be speaking of himself, the text favours this idea; for, according to his two dream visions, he was set apart by God as His son and servant, and appointed to the priesthood by God Himself (v. 2), and consecrated thereto by seven archangels (vi. 2 sqq.). But the subsequent words if genuine are against this identification.

*Speak to God as to a father.* Of Moses it was said that he spake face to face with God as a friend (Exod. xxxiii. 11). Cf. also our text xviii. 6, and the case of John Hyrcanus with whom the Deity conversed (Jos. *Bell. Jud.* i. 2. 8).

*Perfect with the Lord.* The text has πλήρης μετὰ κυρίου, a rendering of "שלם עם. Cf. 1 Kings viii. 61, xi. 4, xv. 3,14 for the Hebrew phrase. πλήρης is used as a rendering of שלם in 1 Chron. xxix. 9, 2 Chron. xv. 17, xvi. 9, xix. 9, etc. τέλειος would here have been a more idiomatic rendering as in the LXX of 1 Kings viii. 61, xi. 4, xv. 3, 14, etc.

[*And in the day of his gladness shall he arise*, etc.] I have bracketed these words as an intrusion. If in any form they are original, they would point possibly to the first priest as Melchizedek, with whom the Maccabean high priesthood appear to have associated themselves in some degree by calling themselves priests of the Most High God.

3. This verse may refer to Aaron who was conceived during the bondage of Israel in Egypt.

*Beloved ones* ($\beta$-*d g* $A^{\beta}$ $S^{1}$). *a g* read "beloved one."

5. *Shall gather itself against him.* Text reads προσθήσει ἐπ' αὐτόν = יוסיף עליו, corrupt for יאסף עליו = συναχθήσεται ἐπ' αὐτόν (or possibly יוָסף, "shall be added unto him"). The fact that the high priest is said to be in pain shows that he is not associated with the evil of the nation.

taken hold of by darkness. 7. Likewise also the sixth and the seventh. 8. And in the seventh shall be such pollution as I cannot express before men, for they shall know it who do these things. 9. Therefore shall they be taken captive and become a prey, and their land and their substance shall be destroyed.

10. And in the fifth week they shall return to their desolate country, and shall renew the house of the Lord. 11. And in the seventh week shall come priests, (who are) idolaters, adulterers, lovers of money, proud, lawless, lascivious, abusers of children and beasts.

XVIII. And after their punishment shall have come from the Lord, the priesthood shall fail.

2. Then shall the Lord raise up a new priest.
And to him all the words of the Lord shall be revealed;
And he shall execute a righteous judgment upon the earth for a multitude of days.

3. And his star shall arise in heaven as of a king,

10-11. These two verses I regard as belonging to the original text. They are part of a section which apparently divided a certain period of history into seven weeks. I see no means of discovering the duration of each of the weeks in question. There is, however, no difficulty in recognising the events referred to in the two weeks mentioned in the text.

10. The return of Ezra and Nehemiah and the rededication of the temple, Ezra vi. 15 sqq. (circa 516 B.C.). Cf. 1 En. lxxxix. 72 sq.

11. This verse refers to the Hellenising chief priests who joined with Antiochus Epiphanes in his attack on Judaism.

*Seventh week* ($\beta$ $A^{\beta}$ S). $\alpha$ reads corruptly "seventieth week."

*Adulterers* ($\alpha$). $\beta$ $A^{\beta}$ $S^{1}$ read "contentious" (μάχιμοι).

XVIII. 1-2. The Hellenising and immoral Zadokite high-priesthood will cease and their place be taken by another and new high-priesthood.

2-15. A Messianic hymn written in tristichs and distichs.

2. *Then* ($\beta$ $A^{\beta}$ $S^{1}$). $\alpha$ reads "and then."

*A new priest.* Cf. viii. 14 according to which a new high-priesthood, *i.e.* the Maccabean, is to be established with a new name, *i.e.* "priests of the Most High God." $A^{\beta}$ om. the epithet "new"; but it is found in $\alpha$ $\beta$ $S^{1}$.

*Execute . . . judgment . . . for a multitude of days.* See ver. 9.

3. *His star shall arise.* Cf. T. Jud. xxiv. 1. Both passages are based on Num. xxiv. 17.

*In heaven.* Possibly ἐν οὐρανῷ is here corrupt for ἐν εἰρήνῃ. Cf. T. Jud. xxiv. 1 where the same passage recurs with ἐν εἰρήνῃ.

*As of a king* (*h i d f g* $A^{\beta}$). *c a b e* $S^{1}$ read "as a king."

Lighting up the light of knowledge as the sun the day,
And he shall be magnified in the world.
4. He shall shine forth as the sun on the earth,
And shall remove all darkness from under heaven,
And there shall be peace in all the earth.
5. The heavens shall exult in his days,
And the earth shall be glad,
And the †clouds shall rejoice;
[And the knowledge of the Lord shall be poured forth upon the earth, as the water of the seas;]
And the angels of the glory of the presence of the Lord shall be glad in him.
6. The heavens shall be opened,

*Lighting up the light of knowledge.* This phrase (*φωτίζων φῶς γνώσεως*) agrees exactly with the LXX of Hos. x. 12, where the Hebrew reads נירו לכם ניר, "till ye the untilled ground." But the LXX (*φωτίσατε . . . φῶς γνώσεως*) represents the ancient translation of the passage; for the Syriac = *φωτίζετε ὑμῖν τὴν* λαμπάδα, and the Targ. Jon. *στηρίζετε τὴν διδαχὴν τοῦ νόμου.* The phrase in our text has already occurred in iv. 3. It occurs in T. Benj. xi. 2 in an interpolated passage. On a cognate phrase "light of the law" see xiv. 4. But since the Hebrew phrase recurs in Jer. iv. 3 it is possible that it was a current one, and that our author has not consciously drawn on the OT.

*As the sun the day.* Emended from *h i a b f ἐν ἡλίῳ ἡμέρα* = בשמש היום, corrupt and defective for כשמש היום = *ὡς ὁ ἥλιος (φωτίζει) τὴν ἡμέραν. c e g* S read *ὡς ἐν ἡλίῳ ἡμέρα (ἡμέρας e* S). $A^{\beta}$ *ὡς ἐν μεσημβρίᾳ ἐνώπιον τοῦ ἡλίου.* In iv. 3 Levi is said to be "as the sun" to Israel.

*In the world.* β $A^{\beta}$ $S^{1}$ add "until his ascension" against α.

5. This stanza is very corrupt. The fourth line is an intrusion, as it is out of touch with the context and against the parallelism. "Clouds," *i.e. νεφέλαι* cannot be right. Since *νεφέλαι* = העבות, the latter may have been a corruption of בעבורו = "because of him." In that case "shall be glad" is to be rejected as an addition. We should then read:

And the heavens shall exult in his days,
And the earth rejoice because of him,
And the angels of the glory of the presence of the Lord shall be glad in him.

With this compare 1 En. li. 4 (emended):

In those days will the mountains leap like rams,
And the hills also will skip like lambs satisfied with milk,
And the faces of all the angels in heaven will be lighted up with joy.

*And the knowledge of the Lord*, etc. Cf. Is. xi. 9. This verse is interpolated. See note above.

6. *The heavens shall be opened.* Cf. ii. 6, v. 1; T. Jud. xxiv. 2. In Gen. vii. 11, it is said that the windows of heaven were opened; in Ps. lxxviii. 23, the doors of heaven; in Ezek. i. 1, the heavens themselves as in our text. But in none of these passages is the opening of the heavens associated with a voice from heaven. The true parallels, therefore, to our text are Matt. iii. 16, 17; Mk. i. 10, 11; Lk. iii. 21, 22; and T. Jud. xxiv. 2 (?).

And from the temple of glory shall come upon him sanctification,

With the Father's voice as from Abraham to Isaac.

7. And the glory of the Most High shall be uttered over him,

And the spirit of understanding and sanctification shall rest upon him [in the water].

*From the temple of glory.* See Talmudic quotation in note on "with the father's voice." Cf. v. 1, "holy temple" (note).

*Sanctification* (ἁγίασμα). Or "consecration."

*With the Father's voice.* The Bath Qol is here referred to. A well-authenticated instance of this voice is recorded both in Josephus and the Talmud in connection with John Hyrcanus. Josephus writes (*Ant.* xiii. 10. 3): "Now a very surprising thing is related of this high priest Hyrcanus, how God came to discourse with him; for they say that on the very same day on which his sons fought with (Antiochus) Cyzicenus, he was alone in the temple, as high priest, offering incense, and heard a voice that his sons had just then overcome Antiochus (*ἀκούσειε φωνῆς, ὡς οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ νενικήκασιν ἀρτίως τὸν Ἀντίοχον*). And when he went forth from the temple he made it known to all the multitude, and it happened that so it fell out." The same event is recounted in the Jer. Talmud, Sotah ix. 12 "It happened that after the youths had gone forth to war with Antioch (read "Antiochus"), the high priest, John Hyrcanus heard a Bath Qol come forth from the holy of holies, announcing: 'the youths have been victorious who marched against Antioch (read 'Antiochus').' And they wrote down the hour, and determined the time, and found that at this very hour the victory had been won." Cf. Joma ix. 2; Sotah xxx. 1, xlviii. 2; Sanh. xi. 1, etc. (See Derenbourg, *Essai sur l'histoire de la Palestine*, p. 74; also Abbot's learned work, *From Letter to Spirit*, 141 sq., 425 sqq.; *Jewish Encyc.* ii. 590.)

This verse seems to point to some Bath Qol uttered in favour of John Hyrcanus, by which he was consecrated to his office, being addressed by God as Isaac was by Abraham, *i.e.* as a son. The currency of such a belief can cause no difficulty considering the repute which John Hyrcanus enjoyed as a prophet. Thus Josephus (*Ant.* xiii. 10. 7) says that God was with him and enabled him to know the future (*συνῆν γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸ θεῖον καὶ τὴν τῶν μελλόντων πρόγνωσιν παρεῖχεν αὐτῷ τε εἰδέναι.* Cf. *Bell. Jud.* i. 2. 8 *ὡμίλει γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸ δαιμόνιον ὡς μηδὲν τῶν μελλόντων ἀγνοεῖν*). With this divine utterance addressed to Hyrcanus we might compare the prophetic oracle addressed to Simon in Ps. cx.

The designation of John Hyrcanus, by a Bath Qol, as a son of God could hardly fail to have a Messianic significance.

*Voice* (φωνῆς). So the Bath Qol is rendered in Matt. iii. 17, Mk. i. 11, Lk. iii. 22. As "voice from heaven" (*φωνὴ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ*) in John xii. 28; "voice from the cloud" (*φωνὴ ἐκ τῆς νεφέλης*) Matt. xvii. 5; Mk. ix. 7; Lk. ix. 35. In the case of the Bath Qol a voice was heard but nothing seen as in Saul's vision Acts ix. 4, 7; xxii. 7, 9; xxvi. 14.

*From Abraham to Isaac* ($A^{\beta}$). *c a d f* Ἀβραὰμ $\overline{\pi ρς}$ καὶ (*a d f* om.) Ἰσαάκ where $\overline{\pi ρς}$ = *πρός* but was taken by other MSS as a contraction of *πατρός*. Thus *h a b g* read Ἀβ. *πατρὸς* Ἰσ. *e* is corrupt but supports *c a d f*.

7. *Shall be uttered* (ῥηθήσεται). The text is peculiar.

*The spirit of understanding.* Cf. Is. xi. 2; 1 En. xlix. 3.

[*In the water.*] A Christian addition found in all versions and in all MSS but *e* of the Greek.

8. For he shall give the majesty of the Lord to His sons
in truth for evermore;
And there shall none succeed him for all generations
for ever.
9. And in his priesthood the Gentiles shall be multiplied
in knowledge upon the earth,
And enlightened through the grace of the Lord:
In his priesthood shall sin come to an end,

8. *For he* (*αὐτὸς γάρ—α*). βA$^{cfg}$S$^{1}$ read "he" (*αὐτός*). Here a very important question arises. Who is designed by the *αὐτός* here and in verses 10-12? Is it God? or is it John Hyrcanus? The evidence in favour of the later view strongly preponderates. Thus in vers. 2, 3, 4 (οὗτος), 5 (bis ?), 6, 7 (bis), 8 (bis) *αὐτός* (*αὐτοῦ* or *αὐτόν*) refers to Hyrcanus or the Messianic figure in the text. Hence it is only natural to regard *αὐτός*, the subject of the sentence, as bearing the same reference. Furthermore, the structure of the sentence favours this interpretation; for if *αὐτός* referred to God we should expect: "For He shall entrust His majesty," and not "For He (*i.e.* the Lord) shall entrust the majesty of the Lord." Again in ver. 9 the significance of *ἱερωσύνης αὐτοῦ* ("*his* priesthood") cannot be mistaken. Thus if the text is right, *αὐτός* and its indirect cases refer to Hyrcanus, unless in certain cases where the reference is clearly to God. We are now prepared to face the main difficulty in the question. In vers. 10-12 certain superhuman achievements are ascribed to the subject of these verses. Who, then, is the subject? At first sight it would appear that there can be no doubt as to the answer. *αὐτός* is the subject of these three verses and, if we follow the usage of the text, it should here as in the preceding eight verses refer to the Messiah and not to God. But on the other side we should observe that in verse 13 *αὐτοῦ* occurs twice, and refers in each instance to God. Since *κύριος* actually stands there immediately before it, or as the subject of the sentence, these cases do not militate against the different significance of *αὐτός* in the verses that precede. In the case, however, of "His children" in ver. 12$^{b}$ there is some difficulty, as the normal construction would require us to interpret these as the sons of the Messiah, *i.e.* Hyrcanus. But they are probably to be taken as in ver. 13. |א

*Give.* Here *δώσει* may be corrupt for *γνωρίσει*.

*His sons in truth.* Cf. T. Jud. xxiv. 3.

*There shall none succeed him*, etc. These words seem to ascribe a perpetuity of office to the Messiah. They may, however, mean merely that the office is secured to him and his descendants. Cf. Ps. cx.; 1 Macc. xiv. 41, "a priest for ever" where these words are used of Simon the Maccabee. Also in T. Reub. vi. 12 the mortality (?) of the priest king is assumed.

9. *The grace of the Lord.* Here all authorities but *be* add a manifest Christian interpolation: "But Israel shall be minished through ignorance, and darkened through grief."

*Shall sin come to an end.* According to Is. lxv. 17, lxvi. 22; Jub. i. 29, iv. 26, xxiii. 26-28 (see my notes *in loc.*), there are to be a new heavens and a new earth, but this renewal is not to be instantaneous and catastrophic, but gradual, and its progress to be conditioned ethically by the conduct of Israel. This is also the view of our author. All sin will depart from before the Son of Man 1 En. lxix. 29; the Messiah will suffer no evil to abide amongst his people Pss. Sol. xvii. 29. The advent of the kingdom brings with it the disappearance of sin and evil, 1 En. xcii. 5, xci. 8, 14, c. 5.

*Sin* (α Aβ). β S read "all sin."

And the lawless shall cease to do evil.
[And the just shall rest in him.]
10. And he shall open the gates of paradise,
And shall remove the threatening sword against Adam.
11. And he shall give to the saints to eat from the tree of life,
And the spirit of holiness shall be on them.
12. And Beliar shall be bound by him,
And he shall give power to His children to tread upon the evil spirits.
13. And the Lord shall rejoice in His children,
And be well pleased in His beloved ones for ever.

[*And the just shall rest in Him.*] To be omitted with *e* as an interpolation. The parallelism is against it. Moreover the use of καταπούσουσιν in the sense of "shall rest" in this line and in that of "shall cease" in the preceding line would be strange as Schnapp (*op. cit.* 42) remarks.

10. *And he* (καὶ γε αὐτός). See note on ver. 8.

*Open . . . Paradise.* Here only in Jewish literature is this act ascribed to the Messiah. Cf. 4 Ezra viii. 52 vobis enim apertus est paradisus ; Sib. Or. iii. 769 sq. ὑπέσχετο . . . ἀνοίξειν . . . μακάρων . . . πύλας. Paradise will appear over against Gehenna after the final judgment, 4 Ezra vii. 36 ; 2 En. x. and its mansions be spread before the righteous, Apoc. Bar. li. 11.

*Adam.* Probably we should read "man" here.

11. *Give his saints to eat*, etc. The tree of life is in Paradise, 4 Ezra viii. 52 : it will be transplanted to the holy place, to the temple of the Lord, and the righteous will eat thereof and enjoy a long life on earth, 1 En. xxvi. 5, 6. This fruit fills and heals the righteous, 4 Ezra vii. 123. Cf. Rev. xxii. 2.

12. *Beliar shall be bound.* The earliest form of this doctrine appears in Is. xxiv. 22, 23, according to which God shuts up in prison certain of the host of heaven. According to our text (?, see note on ver. 8), and it stands alone here in pre-Christian Jewish literature, this action is assigned to the Messiah. And yet there is nothing surprising in the expectation that the Messiah should bind Beliar, if the righteous were to tread under foot and rule over the evil spirits. In the NT. it is Christ that overcomes the strong man and binds him according to Matt. xii. 29, Luke x. 19, and an angel that binds Satan and casts him for 1000 years into the pit according to Rev. xx. 2, 3. If the text refers to the Messiah we might compare this exalted conception with that in 1 En. lxii. 5 sqq., lxix. 27, according to which he is to possess universal dominion and to judge men and angels.

*Power . . . to tread upon the evil spirits.* Cf. T. Sim. vi. 6, from the context of which it is clear that it is the righteous who tread down these spirits. We find a very close parallel in Luke x. 19 ἰδοὺ δέδωκα ὑμῖν τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ πατεῖν . . . ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ ἐχθροῦ. The same idea is found in T. Zeb. ix. 8 (*b d g*).

*To His children.* This should mean "the children of Hyrcanus." The fact that the same phrase recurs in the next verse with a different meaning makes a slight difficulty. If we hold that the meaning of the phrase in ver. 13 determines its meaning also in ver. 12, it constitutes an argument in favour of assigning the achievements in vers. 10,

14. Then shall Abraham and Isaac and Jacob exult,
And I will be glad,
And all the saints shall clothe themselves with joy.

XIX. And now, my children, ye have heard all; choose, therefore, for yourselves either the light or the darkness, either the law of the Lord or the works of Beliar. 2. And his sons answered him, saying, Before the Lord we will walk according to His law. 3. And their father said unto them, The Lord is witness, and His angels are witnesses, and ye are witnesses, and I am witness, concerning the word of your mouth. And his sons said unto him: We are witnesses. 4. And thus Levi ceased commanding his sons; and he stretched out his feet ⌜on the bed⌝, and was gathered to his fathers, after he had lived a hundred and thirty-seven years. 5. And they laid him in a coffin, and afterwards they buried him in Hebron, with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.

11 to God and not to the Messiah. See ver. 8 note.

14. *Joy* (*b e g* $A^b$). *a a f* $S^1$ read "righteousness" which destroys the parallelism.

XIX. 1. *Therefore.* *a e* omit "therefore." With phrase cf. Deut. xxx. 19.

*The light or the darkness* (*a d e* $A^a$). *a b f g* S read "the darkness or the light."

*The light or the darkness, either the law of the Lord or the works of Beliar.* Cf. T. Naph. ii. 6. We have a remarkable parallel with these words in 2 Cor. vi. 14, 15, τίς κοινωνία φωτὶ πρὸς σκότος; τίς δὲ συμφώνησις Χριστοῦ πρὸς Βελίαρ.

2. *His sons answered him saying* (*a*). *d* $S^1$ read "his sons answered (+Levi $S^1$) their father saying," *a b e f* "we answered our father saying," $A^a \beta$ "answering our father we said."

*Walk.* *a* adds "and."

3. *Their father said unto them* (*a*). *a b e f g* $A^\beta$ "our father said" (+"unto us" $A^\beta$).

*And ye are witnesses and I am witness* (*c*). *h* $\beta$ $A^\beta$ read "and I am witness and ye" (+"are witnesses" *h* $\beta$).

*His sons said unto him* (*a*). *d* $A^b$ read "His ($A\beta$ om.) sons said." $\beta$-*d g* A "we said."

4. *On the bed* (*a*). $\beta$-*d* A $S^1$ om.

5. *With* (*a g*). $\beta$-*d e g* read "by the side of," *e* A "in the midst of."

# THE TESTAMENT OF JUDAH, THE FOURTH SON OF JACOB AND LEAH

I. The copy of the words of Judah, what things he spake to his sons before he died. 2. They gathered themselves together, therefore, and came to him, and he said to them: 3. ⌜Hearken, my children, to Judah your father.⌝ I was the fourth son born to my father Jacob; and Leah my mother named me Judah, saying, I give thanks to the Lord, because He hath given me a fourth son ⌜also⌝. 4. I was swift in my youth, and obedient to my father in everything. 5. And I honoured my mother and my mother's sister. 6. And it came to pass, when I became a man, that my father blessed me, saying, Thou shalt be a king, prospering in all things.

Title. So *a*. *b e f* $S^1$ read "Testament of Judah concerning courage and love of money (*e* $S^1$ om. "and love of money") and fornication" (*f* $S^1$ om. "and fornication"). *d* $A^{abhcdefg}$ "T. of Judah the fourth son of Jacob ($A^{abhcdefg}$ om. "son of J.") concerning courage ($A^h$ "righteousness": $A^b$ om. "concerning courage and") and love of money and fornication" (+"and righteousness" $A^b$). But $A^b$ really attests the same text as $A^{acdeg}$, as its variation from them rests on an obvious internal corruption.

2. *They gathered themselves together, therefore and* (*a*). So also *b* A $S^1$ save that they omit "therefore." *a e f g* read "And they gathered themselves together and."

3. *Hearken, my children, to Judah your father* (*a*). *β-d* A om. *d* reads "ye know my children that."

*Jacob* (*a* $A^{b*}$). *β* $A^{-b*}S^1$ om.

*Judah . . . I give thanks to the Lord.* The paronomasia in the original יהודה . . . אודה was here repeated from Gen. xxix. 35.

*Also. h e g* A om.

4. *I was swift* (*a β-d* $A^{\beta}$). *β-e* A add "and active."

6. *My father.* *β* A $S^1$ add "Jacob."

*Blessed me* (*ἐπηύξατο μοι*). So *β-b* A(?) $S^1$, save that *a* om. *μοι*. *ἐπεύχομαι* is a rendering of ברך in Deut. x. 8; 1 Chron. xxiii. 13, and *ἐπευκτός* of ברוך in Jer. xx. 14. The above rendering is supported by xvii. 5 of this Testament. *a b* read *ηὔξατο μοι* (*h* om.), which seems corrupt. A could also be rendered *ηὔξατο ὑπέρ μου*.

*Thou shalt be a king.* Cf. xxi. 5, xxii. 3. So called in Ber. rab. lxxxiv. 16.

II. And the Lord showed me favour in all my works both in the field and in the house. 2. I know that I raced a hind, and caught it, and prepared the meat for my father, and he did eat. 3. And the roes I used to master in the chase, and overtake all that was in the plains. A wild mare I overtook, and caught it and tamed it. 4. I slew a lion and plucked a kid out of its mouth. I took a bear by its paw and hurled it down the cliff, and it was crushed. 5. I outran the wild boar, and seizing it [as I ran], I tare it in sunder. 6. A leopard in Hebron leaped upon my dog, and I caught it by the tail, and hurled it on the rocks, and it was broken in twain. 7. I found a wild ox feeding in the fields, and seizing it by the horns, and whirling it round and stunning it, I cast it from me and slew it.

III. And when the two kings of the Canaanites came

II. 2. *A hind* (*c*). Or "stag." *h* *β* (A ?) $S^1$ = "the hind."

*Caught it, . . . and he did eat* (*α* save that *h i* om. the second "it"). *β-g* $S^1$ read "having caught it I prepared food for my father." The words "and he did eat," ואכל, may have arisen through a dittography of the preceding word אֹכֶל (*i.e.* "meat," *βρῶμα*).

3. *And . . . the roes* (*h* A). *β* $S^1$ om. the "and." *c* reads "and . . . the roe."

*A wild mare I overtook, and caught it and tamed it* (*β-a e* $S^1$). *a* is defective and *e* corrupt. A = "wild mares I caught and tamed, wild beasts I hunted with my hands," *e* "a wild mare I overtook and tamed: having caught a roe I hunted with my hand(!)." This clause is omitted by *α*.

4. *I slew.* *a b g* A $S^1$ read "and I slew."

*Hurled* (*g* A *ἀπηκόντισα*). *α α* read *ἀπέλυσα*. Both these appear to be independent renderings of שלחתי. *b d e f* read *ἀπεκύλησα* "rolled," an emendation (?) of *ἀπέλυσα*.

*And it was crushed* (*α*). *d* reads "and it was broken in pieces on them." *β* A $S^1$ read "and any beast that turned upon me I rent it like a dog."

5. *Outran* (*κατέδραμον—α α*). *β-α* $S^1$ read "I raced" (*συνέδραμον*).

6. Judah hurls a leopard from Hebron to Gaza—a distance of thirty-seven miles! According to Judg. xvi. 1-3 Samson carries the gates of Gaza to the mountain that is before Hebron. This mountain is nowadays shown in the neighbourhood of Gaza. Can there have been a second Hebron near Gaza. According to T. Gad i. 2 Gad hurls a wild beast two furlongs.

*On the rocks, and it was broken in twain* (*α*). Similarly *d*, "on the earth, and forthwith it was broken." *β-d* $S^1$ read "and it was broken on the coasts of Gaza," A "and it (+ the panther $A^b$) was found broken on the coasts of Gaza." The verb "was found" (*εὑρέθη*) belongs to the next sentence, where it is preserved in *α* but lost in *β*.

7. *I found a wild ox feeding in the fields, and seizing* (*α*). *β-d* A $S^1$ read "a wild ox feeding in a field (A "mountain") I seized."

III.-VII. These chapters contain an account of the ancient legend which tells of Jacob's conquest of Shechem. This legend is already attested in Gen. xlviii. 22, where Jacob says to Joseph: "I have given to thee one portion

sheathed in armour against our flocks, and much people with them, single-handed I rushed upon the king of Hazor, and smote him on the greaves and dragged him down, and so I slew him. 2. And the other, the king of Tappuah, as he

above thy brethren, which I took out of the hand of the Amorite with my sword and with my bow." In the second century B.C. this legend had already been elaborated into an attack of seven Amorite kings on the sons of Jacob who had settled in Shechem (Jub. xxxiv. 2-8, where see my notes). The story is clearly referred to in Targ. Jon. on Gen. xlviii. 22, while in the comparatively late works, the Midrash Wajjissau (Jellinek, *Beth ha-Midrasch*, iii.1-3), the Chronicles of Jerahmeel xxxvi. it is given in a fuller form than in our text. In the Book of Jashar (see French translation, *Dict. des Apocr.* ii. 1173-1184) it finds its most elaborate and latest development. These accounts agree in the main with each other, but vary much in statements of detail. To these we shall draw attention as we proceed.

III. The fighting in this chapter takes place in the neighbourhood of Shechem where, according to the Midr. Wajjis. and the Book of Jashar, Jacob and his sons had settled.

1-5. These verses contain a narrative of Judah's slaughter of three kings, but in reality only of two (see notes on vers. 2, 3), the kings of Hazor and Tappuah. In the Midrash, Chron. Jer., and Book of Jashar no account is taken of the king of Hazor, but their description of Judah's encounter with the king of Tappuah agrees almost verbatim with verses 2-5 of our text. Internal evidence also requires us to take these verses as relating to the king of Tappuah only.

1. This verse, with the exception of the word "rushed upon," is not found in the later accounts.

*Two kings* ($\alpha\,\beta$ S). A reads "the king."

*Canaanites.* In Jub. xxxiv. 2 and Targ. Jon. on Gen. xlviii. 22, Midrash Wajjis., and Chron. Jer. xxxvi. they are called Amorite kings; in the Book of Jashar ii. 1173, Canaanite and Amorite.

*Against our flocks.* The object of this attack of the Canaanite kings in our text and in Jubilees is to raid the flocks of Jacob; in the later authorities to exterminate Jacob and his sons.

*Of Hazor.* This name appears as Ἀσούρ in $a\,e\,S^1$, Σούρ in $b\,f\,g$, Ζούρ in A. $a$ reads τὸν ἕνα = האחר = "the one" as opposed to "the other" in ver. 2. The personal name of this king was Parathaho (Midr. Wajjis. and Chron. Jer.) or Parathon (Book of Jashar). On this Hazor which is twice mentioned in the Tel Amarna Letters, see *Ency. Bib.* and Hastings *Bib. Dict. in loc.* $a$ omits the name Hazor owing to its wrong text in iv. 2. On the names of these kings see Jub. xxxiv. 2-8 notes.

*Smote him on the greaves* ($\alpha$). Instead of κνημῖδας we should expect κνήμας, "legs," as in A. $\beta$ A $S^1$ read "seized him and smiting (him) on the legs."

2-6. In the Midrash (Jellinek, *B. ha-M.* iii. 1) the account is: "And he slew at the outset Jashub, *king of Tappuah*, who was covered from head to foot in iron and brass, and was *riding on a horse* (רוכב על סוס), and could *hurl his javelins* (והיה מורה חניתו) with both hands from *horseback in front and behind* (מעל הסוס לפניו ולאחריו) and never missed his aim, for he was *mighty* in his strength to cast with both hands. When Judah saw (him) he was not terrified by him or his might. He sprang up and ran to meet him, (and) *he took up a stone* (נטל אבן) from the ground *weighing sixty shekels and hurled it* (משקלה ס' סלעים והשליכה) at him. And he was distant from him two parts of a rēs, that is, 177⅓ cubits. And he came to meet Judah clad in iron and casting javelins. And Judah *smote* (חכה) him with the stone on his shield and hurled him from his horse. When he wished to rise Judah ran and sought to slay him before he rose from the ground. But he made haste and stood upon his feet to encounter Judah and *he engaged* him shield against shield, and he drew his sword and sought to smite off Judah's head. And Judah raised his shield to meet the stroke of the sword and *he*

sat upon his horse, [I slew, and so I scattered all his people. 3. Achor the king] a man of giant stature ⌜I found⌝, hurling javelins before and behind as he sat on horseback, and I took up a stone of sixty pounds weight, and hurled it and smote his horse, and killed it. 4. And I fought with (this) other for two hours; and I clave his shield in twain, and I chopped

*clave the shield in twain.* What did Judah then? He ducked his head (so Chron. Jer., text of Midrash corrupt) and smote him with his sword and *cut off his feet* from above the ankles, and then he fell to the earth, and his sword fell from his hands. And he sprang up and cut off his head. And *while he was stripping him of his armour* (שריון) there came against him *nine of his companions.* When the first drew near Judah lifted a stone and smote him on the head, and his shield fell from his hand, and Judah seized it and made a stand against the eight. And Levi his brother drew near and came and stood beside him, and he shot an arrow and slew Ilon king of Gaash. And Judah slew all the eight.

2-5. According to the Greek text and the Armenian and Slavonic versions we have here an account of Judah's slaughter of two kings, the kings of Tappuah and Achor (Ἀχώρ) in single combat. But since there were only seven kings in all (Jub. xxxiv. 2, Midr. Wajjis.), and since Judah has already killed the king of Hazor in ver. 1, and subsequently kills four kings in iv. 1 (β-*g* A S[1]), and Jacob kills the king of Shilo in iii. 7, verses 2-5 can recount only the death of one king. Moreover, ver. 1 introduces the narrative of Judah's exploits with the mention of only two kings. This conclusion is confirmed by other facts. See notes on verses 2, 3.

2. *King of Tappuah.* His name, according to the above extract, was Jashub.

2. [*I slew, and so I scattered all his* (*h d e* A[a b h b*]. *c a f g* A[c d e g] read "their") *people*]. This clause is a disturbing addition. Verses 2-5 (see preceding note) recount the death of one king, not of two. The internal evidence of the text is confirmed by the accounts in the Midrash Wajjis. (see note on verses 2-6) and the Book of Jashar (*Dict. des Apoc.* ii. 1174-1175), which employ the very phrases in these verses and apply them all to the king of Tappuah.

3. [*Achor the king.*] This phrase (τὸν Ἀχὼρ βασιλέα) is part of the interpolation referred to in the last note. Since verses 2-5 refer only to the king of Tappuah (see preceding notes), some corruption underlies Achor. Now Ἀχώρ = אחור, corrupt for אַחֵר = ἕτερος. In other words, τὸν ἕτερον βασιλέα. Thus these words arose in the Hebrew as a corrupt dittography of the opening words of ver. 2. When this apparently proper name was inserted in the text, it became necessary to bring Judah's combat with the king of Tappuah to a close in ver. 2. Hence the addition there, which may have been made either in the Hebrew or subsequently in the Greek.

*I found* (α). β A S[1] om.

*Before and behind as he sat on horseback* (β A S[1]). α omits, but the words are found also in the Midr. Wajjis., Chron. Jer., and Book of Jashar.

*Smote* (so A S[1] = ἐπάταξα). α *a f g* read δέδωκα, "I have given." Possibly δέδωκα (*b d e* ἔδωκα) is corrupt for κέκρουκα, which may have been before A S[1]. Otherwise α β = נחתי, corrupt for רכיתי = ἐπάταξα. In the Midrash Wajjis. (see note on ver. 2) and in Chron. Jer. this Hebrew verb is used in this connection. But how are we to account for A S[1] being right, if the corruption arose in the Hebrew?

4. α omits this verse through hmt.

(*This*) *other.* β-*e* A[β] read Ἀχώρ (A[β] N α χώρ), which represents a corruption of אַחֵר = ἕτερον as in ver. 3.

*Clave his shield in twain.* In the Midrash Wajjis. (see note on ver. 2),

off his feet, and killed him. 5. And as I was stripping off his breastplate, behold nine men his companions began to fight with me. 6. And I wound my garment on my hand; and I slung stones at them, and killed four of them, and the rest fled. 7. And Jacob my father slew †Beelesath, king of all the kings, a giant in strength, twelve cubits high. 8. And fear fell upon them, and they ceased warring against us. 9. Therefore my father was free from anxiety in the wars when I was with my brethren. 10. For he saw in a vision [concerning me] that an angel of might followed me everywhere, that I should not be overcome.

IV. And in the south there came upon us a greater war than that in Shechem; and I joined in battle array with my brethren, and pursued a thousand men, and slew of them two hundred men and four kings. 2. And I went

Chron. Jer., and Book of Jashar it is Judah's shield that is cleft by his opponent who, according to these authorities, was Jashub.

*And killed him.* This clause is wrongly transposed before "and I clave" by $\beta$ and the "and" omitted. A preserves the right order.

5. *Breastplate* (θώρακα). The Hebrew has שריון.

*Nine* ($A^{efg}$, Midrash Wajjis., Chron. Jer., Book of Jashar). $\beta$-$g$ $S^1$ read "eight," $A^{-efg}$ "seven."

6. *And I wound* (α). $\beta$ reads "I wound therefore."

*Four of them.* According to the Hebrew authorities he killed the remaining eight. Here the Midrash Wajjis., Chron of Jer., and Book of Jashar recount Levi's slaughter of the king of Gaash.

7. *Jacob . . . slew.* According to the Midrash Wajjis. and Bk. of Jashar Jacob slew four other kings, but according to our text it is Judah that did so. See iv. 1.

*My father* ($a\,d\,e\,A^{\beta}$). $\beta$-$d\,e_1\,A^{a}\,S^1$ read "our father."

†*Beelesath* (*e*). All the MSS and Versions are here corrupt. $a\,a\,f$ read Βελισαθ, *b* Βεελισα, $A^{-a}$ Βελιασαθ, etc. All seem to be corruptions of בעל שילה, "Lord of Shilo"; for, according to the Midrash Wajjis., Chron. Jer., and Bk. of Jashar, Jacob slew the king of Shilo, whose name was Zerori (Midr. Wajjis.), Zehori (Chron. Jer.—Brit. Museum MS) or Ihuri (Bk. of Jashar).

9. *When* ($c\,\beta\,A^{b*cd}\,S^1$). *h* $A^{abbhefg}$ read "because."

*I shall not be overcome* ($\beta\,A\,S^1$). α reads "none should touch me."

IV. The warfare narrated in the preceding chapter took place in the neighbourhood of Shechem, as the first sentence of this chapter implies. In this chapter the fighting is in the neighbourhood of Hazor, though this city is not mentioned. For the Midr. Wajjis., immediately after a description of the warring round Shechem, proceeds: "And before the city Hazor there came upon them a severer war than (היה להם מלחמה כבדה מן) that which they had waged with them in the valley of Shechem." See also note on ver. 2. The same order of events is preserved in the Chron. Jer. and the Bk. of Jashar.

*And four kings* ($\beta\,A\,S^1$). α omits wrongly. In the amended text above we have seen that Judah slew the kings of Hazor and Tappuah (1-5), and Jacob the king of Shiloh (7). Hence Judah

up upon the wall, and I slew four mighty men. 3. And so we captured Hazor, and took all the spoil.

V. On the next day we departed to Aretan, a city strong and walled and inaccessible, threatening us with death. 2. But I and Gad approached on the east side of the city, and Reuben and Levi on the west. 3. And

slays here the king of Sartan, the king of Gaash, the king of Bethhoron, and the king of Mahanaim (see Jub. xxxiv. 2-8). The Hebrew authorities do not here accord with our text. They ascribe the slaughter of four kings here to Jacob, but the list is not the same as that just given. The names in the Midrash Wajjis. are: Parathon (Pir'athaho—Chron. Jer.) king of Hazor, Pasusi (Susi—Chron. Jer., but Bk. of Jashar om.) of Sartan, Laban of Aram (Heldon—Chron. Jer. (Bodley MS), Horon—Chron. Jer. (British Museum MS), Bk. of Jashar), Shabir (Shakir—Chron. Jer., Bk. of Jashar). The difference in the two lists is due to the fact that whereas our text makes Judah in the first instance slay the kings of Hazor and Tappuah, these Hebrew authorities represent Judah as slaying the king of Tappuah, and Levi as slaying the king of Gaash.

2. *And I went up upon the wall, i.e.* of Hazor as in Midrash Wajjis. ועלה לחומה של חצור.

*Four mighty men.* These words I have drawn from the Midrash Wajjis. as our text is here corrupt. The Midrash runs: "And he went up upon the wall of Hazor, and four mighty men attacked Judah before Naphtali came to the rescue, who had gone up after him, but before he had gone up, (Judah) slew the four mighty men (הרג לאותם ד' גבורים). The same account is given in Chron. Jer. xxxvi. 6. The above reading A supports in some measure as it reads "still other four kings," where "kings" is corrupt. $\beta$ S$^1$ read "two other kings," while $\alpha$ is most corrupt of all, as it gives "their king," *i.e.* the king of Hazor, who was already slain by Judah (iii. 1). This incident is referred to in the Book of Jashar (*Dict. des Apoc.* ii. 1176), "The fugitives arrived before Hazor, but finding the gates closed they forced their way . . . into the place. . . The sons of Jacob came after them, but four mighty men well exercised in war set out from the gate . . . and brought them to a stand." It then assigns the destruction of two of them to Naphtali, while the other two took to flight.

*Captured Hazor.* Here our text is again corrupt. It reads "we freed Hebron." But the text has here no concern with Hebron, but only with Hazor as in the preceding two verses. Hence for Χεβρών we must read 'Ασούρ. This corruption gave rise to the corrupt verb, ἐλευθερώσαμεν = חִפַּשְׁנוּ, corrupt for תָּפַשְׂנוּ or בָּבַשְׁנוּ, as in the Midrash נכבשו לחצור. חפש is very rare. In any case the text must be emended.

*We took . . . the booty* ($\alpha$). $\beta$-*d* A S$^1$ add "of the kings." Cf. Midrash Wajjis. שבו השבי.

V. This chapter contains an account of the destruction of Sartan and Tappuah.

1. *Aretan* (*b e*$^1$). *d* A read 'Αρετά, *a a e*$^2$ *f* S$^1$ ἑτέραν. The original word was Sartan (סרטן) as in Midr. Wajjis., Chron. Jer. xxxvi. 7, and Bk. of Jashar. Jub. xxxiv. 4, 7 give Saregan or Seragan.

*Walled and inaccessible* ($\beta$-*dg* A S$^1$). $\alpha$ reads "mighty." Midr. Wajjis. reads "there was no means of approaching the wall because the wall was strong and exceedingly high."

2. *But I* ($\alpha$). $\beta$ S$^1$ read "therefore I." A-*e*$^1$ "and then I."

*I and Gad . . . on the east*, etc. The Midrash gives a different account: "And they went up on the wall, Judah was the first to go up on the east and Gad on the west. Simeon and Levi went up on the north; Reuben and Dan on the south." Similarly in Chron. Jer. xxxvi. 7 and Bk. of Jashar *in loc.*

they that were upon the wall, thinking that we were alone, †were drawn down† against us. 4. And so my brothers secretly climbed up the wall on both sides by stakes, and entered the city, while the men knew it not. 5. And we took it with the edge of the sword. And as for those who had taken refuge in the tower, we set fire to the tower and took both it and them.

*α*

6. And as we were departing the men of Tappuah seized our spoil, and seeing (this) we fought with them. 7. And we slew them all and recovered our spoil.

*β* A $S^1$

6. And as we were departing the men of Tappuah set upon our spoil, and delivering it up to our sons we fought with them as far as Tappuah. 7. And we slew them and burnt their city, and took as spoil all that was in it.

3-4. In the Midrash, Chron. Jer., and Bk. of Jashar there is practically nothing corresponding to our text here.

3. *Were drawn down* (*α β* $S^1$). A reads "prolonged the war." But *ἐφελκύσθησαν*=ארכו, which may be corrupt for ערכו, which with or without מלחמה=*παρετάξαντο* "set themselves in array"—a phrase which occurs three or four times in this Midrash but not in this case, as our text and the Midrash diverge here.

4. The text follows *β* $S^1$ except that $S^1$ reads "all" for "both." *α* is defective: "and so my brethren secretly on both sides of the wall, we (*sic*) entered into the city." A="But all our brethren on both sides fixing in stakes we entered the city, while the men knew it not."

5. *Having set fire to the tower we took both it and them* (*β*). *α* reads "we burnt with fire and so we took all the people and all their possessions." A is here corrupt. The Midr. Wajjis. recounts: "They stood over against them on the tower before Judah reduced the tower. And afterwards Judah went up to the top of the tower and slew 200 men on the roof of the tower. All the inhabitants of the city they captured, etc." Similarly in Chron. Jer. xxxvi. 7. In the Bk. of Jashar, *Dict. des Apocr.* ii. 1177, the one tower has become two, and the narrative in a like degree expanded and embellished.

6-7. *α* gives one account here, *β* A $S^1$ agree in presenting another. In some respects *α* is the more accurate but the less full. *α* represents the men of Tappuah as succeeding in carrying off the spoil, and the sons of Jacob as recovering it; but *β* A $S^1$ describe it as an attempt which failed and was followed by the destruction of Tappuah.

*Seized* (*ἐπελάβοντο*. So *α e*). Here *β-α e* A $S^1$ read "set upon" (*ἐπέβαλον*). The corruption is native to the Greek. That *ἐπελάβοντο* is a correct verb we see from the Midr. Wajjis. יצאו אנשי תפוח להציל מירם השבי, and also from Chron. Jer. xxxvi. 7, Bk. of Jashar, *Dict. des Apocr.* ii. 1178. The phrase recurs in vi. 3 where the Greek has *λαβεῖν τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν*. The spoil

VI. And when I was at the waters of Kozeba, the men of †Jobel came against us to battle. 2. And we fought with them and routed them; ⌈and their allies from Shiloh we slew,⌉ and we did not leave them ⌈power⌉ to come in against us. 3. And the men of †Makir came upon us the fifth day, to seize our spoil; and we attacked them and overcame them in fierce battle: for there was a host of mighty men amongst them, and we slew them before they had gone up the ascent. 4. And when we came to their city their women rolled upon us stones from the brow of

thus taken by the men of Tappuah is recovered by the sons of Jacob in ver. 7.

VI. The defeat of the men of Arbela and the destruction of Shiloh and Shakir.

I. 1-2. *a* om. 1. *Kozeba.* This town is probably that which is mentioned in 1 Chron. iv. 22 (כֹּזֵבָה) as belonging to the descendants of Shelah, the son of Judah and named Kezib in Gen. xxxviii. 5. Chron. Jer. xxxvi. 8 speaks of the "waters of ישוב north of Tappuah." The name here is corrupt, but the position assigned to it, "north of Tappuah," is right, if we may identify it with Ain el Kezbeh (*Encyc. Bib.* i. 37, 38).

*The men of Jobel* (*b*). Jobel is probably corrupt for 'Αρβήλ or 'Αρβαήλ. According to the Bk. of Jashar (*Dict. des Apocr.* ii. 1178), the Arbelians marched to the rescue of the captives of Tappuah but were all put to the sword by the sons of Jacob. The Midr. Wajjis. also supports our emendation: "They went from thence to Arbael (ארבאל) and slew the men who had gone forth to seize the spoil." *a f* $S^1$ read 'Ιώ, *d g* 'Ιωήλ.

2. *Their allies from Shiloh we slew* *f* A omit, but the clause is found in Midr. Wajjis. and Chron. Jer. xxxvi. 8.

*Did not leave them power to come against us* (*οὐκ ἐδώκαμεν αὐτοῖς διέξοδον τοῦ εἰσελθεῖν πρὸς ἡμᾶς*). Here I have given an unexampled meaning to *διέξοδον*, as I have taken it to be the equivalent of יד. In the Midr. Wajjis. and Chron. Jer. xxxvi. 8 we have in this connection the words לא נתנו להם יד לעמוד, "they did not leave them power to make a stand against them." But possibly there is a dittography in the text, *διέξοδον τοῦ εἰσελθεῖν* = מוצא לבוא where מוצא may be a dittography of לבוא. In that case we should omit *διέξοδον*.

3. *Makir.* In the Midrash we have Shabir, in the Chron. Jer. xxxvi. 9 Shakir. The Bk. of Jashar om. this incident. In Jub. xxxiv. 4 we have Maanisakir, which in my note *in loc.* I have wrongly taken to be for Shakir-maani or Shakir, king of Mahanaim. Shakir here is the city, and Maanisakir is the camp of Shakir (מחנה שכיר). Perhaps *Μαχίρ* is a compression of *Μαχανισακίρ*. If not we must read Shakir.

*On the fifth day.* According to the Midrash, Chron. Jer., and Bk. of Jashar this was the fourth day.

*To seize our spoil* (*β* A $S^1$). Midr. Wajjis. להציל את השבי. *α* omits.

*Overcame them in a mighty battle* (*β-d f* A $S^1$). *α f* read "overcame them with a mighty sword."

*For there was a host of mighty men* (*d g* "a mighty host") *amongst them* (*β* A $S^1$). *α* om.

*Slew them before they had gone*, etc. So Midr. Wajjis. והרגום קורם שעלו המעלה.

4. *Their women.* Both the Midrash and Chron. Jer. speak only of men here.

*Rolled* (*ἐκύλιον*). Possibly corrupt, for Midrash and Chron. Jer. read "hurled" (משליכים). See note on ii. 4 for a similar corruption.

the hill on which the city stood. 5. And I and Simeon hid ourselves behind the town, and seized upon the heights, and destroyed this city also.

VII. And the next day it was told us that the king of the city of Gaash with a mighty host was coming against us. 2. I, therefore, and Dan feigned ourselves to be Amorites, and as allies went into their city. 3. And in the depth of night our brethren came and we opened to them the gates; and we destroyed all the men and their substance, and we took for a prey all that was theirs, and their three walls we cast down. 4. And we drew near to Thamna, where was all the substance of the hostile kings. 5. Then being insulted by them, I was therefore wroth, and rushed against them to the summit; and they kept slinging

5. *This city also* (α). β A S[1] read "the whole city."

VII. 1. *King of the city of Gaash with a mighty host* (α *d*). α *e f* read "Gaash the city of the kings with a great host"; *b* S[1] "the cities of the two kings with a great host"; A "Gaash a city with a powerful king."

2. *I, therefore, and Dan feigned ourselves to be Amorites, and as allies* (β-*d e* S[1]). α read "And I and Gad also proceeded to the Amorites and feigning ourselves to be their allies"; A-b* "I, therefore, and Dan feigned ourselves to be Amorites."

3. The text follows β A S[1]. α is defective: "And in the depth of the night all our brethren also came, and we opened the gates to them and destroyed all the men and took as a prey."

*Their three walls.* These walls are mentioned in the Midrash, Chron. Jer., and the Bk. of Jashar. The two former speak of שלש חומות היו לה חומה לפנים מחומה, "three walls one within another." The Bk. of Jashar describes the assault on each wall in turn.

4. *Thamna, i.e.* Timnah. This may be the Thamnatha of 1 Macc. ix. 50, one of the Judean cities fortified by Bacchides. See *Encyc. Bib.* and *Dict. Bib. in loc.*

*Substance* (ἀποσκευή). *b g* read "refuge" (ἀποφυγή).

5-6. The incidents recounted here in connection with Thamna are told of Gaash in the Midr. Wajjis., Chron. Jer., and Bk. of Jashar.

5. *Then being insulted by them I was therefore wroth* (α *d e*). β-*d e* S[1] read "then being insulted I was wroth"; A "and then being insulted by them and being wrath." No account of the insult to Judah appears in our text. The reason is preserved in Midr. Wajjis.: "And they began to depreciate them and mock them והתחילו מצערין להן והיו מחרפין להן). Then the wrath of Judah arose . . . and he sprang . . . and was the first to go up on the wall (באותה שעה עלתה חמתו של יהודה . . . וקפץ . . . ועלה לחומה ראשון)." Similarly in the Chron. Jer. xxxvi. 11 and in the Bk. of Jashar (*Dict. des Apocr.* ii. 1179, 1180).

*Rushed against them to the summit* (ὥρμησα ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν κορυφήν) = קפצתי עליהם לראש. A comparison of these words with the Hebrew of the Midrash in the last note suggests the probability that לראש (or לראשה, "to its summit") is here corrupt for ראשון, and that possibly עליהם is corrupt for על חומה. In that case we should read "I was the first to spring upon the wall."

*Kept slinging*, etc. Cf. Midrash Wajjis. היו משליכין עליו אבנין.

against me stones and darts. 6. And had not Dan my brother aided me, they would have slain me. 7. We came upon them, therefore, with wrath, and they all fled; and passing by another way, they besought my father, and he made peace with them. 8. And we did to them no hurt, and they became tributary to us, and we restored to them their spoil. 9. And I built Thamna, and my father built Rabael. 10. I was twenty years old when this war befell. 11. And the Canaanites feared me and my brethren.

VIII. And I had much cattle, and I had for chief herdsman Iram the Adullamite. 2. And when I went to him I saw Barsaba, king of Adullam; [and he spake unto

6. This verse is found in Chron. Jer. xxxvi. 11, but there it is Jacob that rescues Judah: אילו לא היה יעקב לעזרו היו חורגין את יהודה.

*Would have slain me* (εἶχόν με ἀνελεῖν). The Hebrew in the preceding note shows the meaning of εἶχον here, a meaning which it also bears in the NT.

7. *They all fled* (α β S¹). A reads "we put them to flight."

*Passing . . . they besought my father* (β-d A S¹). α reads "departing by another way to our father they besought him"; A "departing by another way they besought Jacob our father."

*He made peace with them* (β-a f S¹). So also Midr. Wajjis. עשה יעקב עמהם שלום. α a f read "they made peace with him"; A "we made peace with them." On the other hand, two lines earlier in the Midrash it is said: "All the Amorites assembled and came to them without arms, and bowed down to them and besought them to make peace, and then they made peace with them."

8. *They became tributary to us* (α—εἴχομεν αὐτοὺς ὑποφόρους) = היו לנו למס, cf. ix. 7. Here β A S¹ give a different text. ἐποιήσαμεν αὐτοὺς ὑποσπόνδους, "we made a truce with them." Cf. Bk. of Jashar (1686, fol. 79ᵇ, ויכרתו להם ברית שלום. Here the Midr. Wajjis. reads נתנו להם מס, "they gave them tribute"; and the Bk. of Jashar (1686, fol. 79ᵇ), וישימום בני יעקב למס, "and they made them tributary."

*We restored to them their spoil.* According to the Midrash Wajjis. (see my note on Jub. xxxiv. 8-9), it is the Amorites that restore the spoil to the sons of Jacob: so also the Bk. of Jashar, *Dict. des Apocr.* ii. 1184. The Bodley MS of the Chron. Jer. xxxvi. 12 is here corrupt and admits of restoration either way. In Jub. xxxiv. 7 it is Jacob that recovers his herds.

*Their spoil* (α d A). β S¹, Midrash Wajjis. read "all the spoil." The Chron. Jer. reads "the spoil."

9. Text follows β A S¹—save that they differ as to the form of the second proper name. α reads "And we built also their city." The former is right. Thus Jub. xxxiv. 8 reads "(Jacob) built Robel and Tamnatares," Midrash Wajjis. "And Jacob built Timnah and Judah Arbael (ארבאל)." "Rabael (a e f S¹) is corrupt. b reads Ἀμβαήλ, g Ῥοβαήλ, d Ἀβήλ. We have here probably the stronghold Arbela mentioned in 1 Macc. ix. 2. This Arbela is one of the cities mentioned in the Bk. of Jashar as put to the sword by the sons of Jacob in this war.

10. *Twenty years old*, etc. This practically agrees with Jub. xxviii. 15 (see my note), and xxxiv. 1.

VIII. 1. *I had for chief herdsman.* A reads "the name of my chief herdsman was."

*Iram* (a a e f). b d g read "Iran" or "Eran." Cf. Gen. xxxviii. 1.

2. *Barsaba* (a a e f). b d read "Barsan," g A "Barsa."

us,] and he made us a feast; and when I was heated he gave me his daughter Bathshua to wife. 3. She bare me Er, and Onan, and Shelah; and two of them the Lord smote: for Shelah lived, and his children are ye.

IX. And eighteen years my father abode at peace with his brother Esau, and his sons with us, after that we came from Mesopotamia, from Laban. 2. And when eighteen years were fulfilled, in the fortieth year of my life, Esau, the brother of my father, came upon us with a mighty and strong people. 3. And Jacob smote Esau with an arrow, and he was taken up wounded on Mount Seir, and as he

[*He spake unto us*] ($\alpha$). $\beta$ A omit.

*When I was heated.* Text here reads παρακαλέσας = מְנַחֵם, which I take to be corrupt for בְּחֻמִי = "when I was heated," *i.e.* with wine. Cf. Jer. li. 39 and T. Jud. xiv. 3, "wine . . . heateth the body to carnal union." In xi. 2 of our text Judah says "through the intoxication of wine I was deceived." See also xiii. 5-7. Or מנחם may be corrupt for בְּיִחְמִי, "when I was heated with desire." Judah's drunkenness explains his marrying a Canaanite. On the offence this gave to rabbinic tradition see my note on Jub. xxxiv. 20. παρακαλέσας cannot be taken here as = "having invited."

*Bathshua, i.e.* בת שוע. Cf. Gen. xxxviii. 2; Jub. xxxiv. 20, xli. 7. The MSS give various corruptions of this name.

3. *Smote.* *b d e* A $S^1$ add "childless" (ἀτέκνους).

*And his children ye are* ($\beta$ A $S^1$). $\alpha$ om.

IX. This chapter gives a very defective account of the war between Jacob and Esau, the death of Esau and the subjugation of Edom. A fuller account is found in Jub. xxxvii.–xxxviii. 1-14, and a still ampler one in Midr. Wajjis. and the Chron. Jer. xxxvii. Quite a different relation of these events appears in the Bk. of Jashar (*Dict. des Apocr.* ii. 1235-1236).

1. *My father* ($a$ *d*). $\beta$-*d* A read "our father." *b d* add "and we."

2. *In the fortieth year of my life* ($\beta$ A $S^1$). $\alpha$ om. This date agrees with the statements in Jubilees. Thus the sons of Esau attacked Jacob when mourning for Leah, Jub. xxxvii. 14, that is in the year 2167 or 2168 A.M. (Jub. xxxvi. 21). Now Judah was born (Jub. xxviii. 15) in the year 2128 A.M.

*Came upon us with a mighty and strong people.* Cf. Midr. Wajjis. בא בחיל גדול.

3. *Jacob smote Esau with an arrow* (or with a bow). So $\alpha$. This text is supported by *a f* ἐπέπεσεν (*f* ἔπεσεν) ἐν τόξῳ ὁ (*f* om.) Ἰακὼβ τὸν Ἡσαῦ, where ἐπέπεσεν or ἔπεσεν is clearly corrupt for ἐπέπαισεν or ἔπαισεν. This view is supported by Jub. xxxviii. 2, "Jacob struck Esau": the Midr. Wajjis. and Chron. Jer. הכה לעשו, "(Jacob) smote Esau." *b g* A $S^1$ read ἔπεσεν ἐν τόξῳ Ἰακώβ, "he fell by the bow of Jacob."

On the later traditions as to the death of Esau see my note on Jub. xxxviii. 2; *Jewish Encyc.* v. 208.

*Was taken up wounded on Mount Seir.* Jub. xxxviii. 8 says: "The sons of Esau . . . left their father lying slain as he had fallen on the hill which is in Adûrâm": the Midrash Wajjis. and Chron. Jer. "And he was wounded by the arrow (נחלה מן החץ), (and) his sons raised him and set him on an ass and he came to Arodin and died there."

*Wounded.* Text reads νεκρός. But this is manifestly corrupt; for Esau is represented as proceeding to Anoniram and dying there. The corruption arose in the Hebrew. νεκρός = נְבֵלָה, corrupt for נְחֻלָה = τετραυματισμένος, which is found in the passage in the Midrash

went he died at Anoniram. 4. And we pursued after the sons of Esau. Now they had a city with walls of iron and gates of brass; and we could not enter ⌜into it⌝, and we encamped around, and besieged it. 5. And when they opened not to us in twenty days, I set up a ladder ⌜in the sight of all⌝, and with my shield upon my head I went up, sustaining the assaults of stones, upwards of three talents weight; and I slew four of their mighty men. 6. And Reuben and Gad slew six others. 7. Then they asked from us terms of peace; and having taken counsel with our father, we received them as tributaries. 8. And they gave us five hundred cors of wheat, five hundred baths of oil, five hundred measures of wine, ⌜until the famine,⌝ when we went down into Egypt.

given in the preceding note. The same conjunction of words "smote . . . wounded" (נחלה . . . הכה) is found in 1 K. xxii. 34 in regard to the death of Ahab.

*And as he went he died at Anoniram* ($\beta$ S$^1$). *c* omits this clause owing to the corruption pointed out in the preceding note. *h* omits this clause, and the first clause of the next through hmt. A reads: "And as they were going he was buried in Anoniram"—another manifest attempt to improve an impossible text.

*Anoniram* ($\beta$-*b d* A). Jub. xxxviii. 9 (see note) has Aduram here and the Midrash Arodin which seems to be corrupt for Adorim. This is the Ἀδωρα mentioned by Joseph. (*Ant.* xxii. 15. 4) as one of the towns captured by Hyrcanus and forced to accept circumcision (*Ant.* xiii. 9. 1).

4. *A city with walls of iron and gates of brass* ($\beta$-*d* A). $\alpha$ reads "a strong city."

*Besieged it* (*c e g* A). *h* $\beta$-*e g* S$^1$ read "besieged them."

5. *Sustaining the assaults of stones.* The Midrash Wajjis. and Chron. Jer. ascribe this incident to Judah, Naphtali and Gad jointly, and write: "And they received on their shields the sharp stones (קבלו במגינם חלוקי אבנין) which they slung against them." Here all MSS. but *e* read ἀποδεχόμενος, though we expect ὑποδεχόμενος as in *e*. The Hebrew authorities support the latter. However, in Polyb. iii. 43. 3, v. 51. 1 ἀποδέχομαι is used in this sense.

*Upwards of three talents in weight* ($\beta$ A S$^1$). $\alpha$ omits.

*I slew* ($\alpha$ A). $\beta$ S$^1$ read "I went up and slew."

6. *And Reuben* ($\alpha$). $\beta$ S$^1$ read "And on the following day R.," A "and after me R."

7. *Then.* $\alpha$ adds "therefore."

*Received them as tributaries* (ἐδεξάμεθα αὐτοὺς ὑποφόρους). Cf. vii. 8. $\alpha$ omits ὑποφόρους. The Midrash Wajjis. reads: "we made them tributary" (נתנום לכס עובר).

8. *Five hundred* ($\alpha$ *a f* S$^1$). *b d e* A read "two hundred."

*Cors, i.e.* κόρους (=כרים). The measure was=10 ephahs or baths.

*Baths* ($\beta$-*a f* S$^1$). *a a f* imply "ephah" (איפה), apparently, since *c* reads *υφης*, *h υφεις*, *a f φευς*. This is strange since the ephah is used for dry measure. $\beta$-*a f* read βέθ, A=μέτρον βεθ (*sic*).

*Five hundred* ($\alpha$ S$^1$). $\beta$ A$^{b*}$ read "fifteen hundred," S$^1$ "five hundred."

*Until the famine, when* ($\alpha$). $\beta$ S$^1$ read "until."

X. And after these things my son Er took to wife Tamar, from Mesopotamia, a daughter of Aram. 2. Now Er was wicked, and he †was in need concerning Tamar, because she was not of the land of Canaan. And on the third night an angel of the Lord smote him. 3. ⌜And he had not known her according to the evil craftiness of his mother, for he did not wish to have children by her. 4. In the days⌝ of the wedding-feast I gave Onan to her in marriage; and he also in wickedness knew her not, though he spent with her a year. 5. And when I threatened him he went in unto her, but he spilled the seed on the ground, according to the command of his mother, and he also died through wickedness. 6. And I wished to give Shelah also to her, but his mother did not permit it; ⌜for she wrought evil against Tamar,⌝ because she was not of the daughters of Canaan, as she also herself was.

XI. And I knew that the race of the Canaanites was

X. 1. *And* (*a a d g* A). *b e f* S[1] omit.

*Daughter of Aram, i.e.* of the Semitic race, not like Bathshua his mother, who was a Canaanite. This fact of her descent is told also in Jub. xli. 1. In Ber. rabba 85, R. Meir of the second century states that Tamar was the daughter of the priest-king Shem. Cf. also Targum, Ps. Jon. on Gen. xxxviii. 6, 24, Baba Mezia 87[a]. In the Opus Imperfectum on Gen. i. 3 it is said that Judah alarmed by his own experience of Bathshua, a daughter of Canaan, gave to Er "Thamar ex filiabus Aram."

2. The text follows *β* A S[1]. *α* reads: "Now Er was wicked and an angel of the Lord slew (*ἐθανάτωσεν*) him."

†*Was in need*, or "was in a difficulty" (*ἠπόρει*). *ἠπόρει* = יחסר, which may be corrupt for יֶחְפַּר = "put her to shame." Cf. Jub. xli. 2 (Er) "hated and would not lie with her . . . because he wished to take him a wife of the kinsfolk of his mother." Or the text may be a mistranslation of יצר לתמר, which should have been rendered *ἤχθραινε τῇ* T. Ps. Jon. on Gen. xxxviii. 7 says that the Lord slew him because he would not give his seed to his wife.

3. A omits this verse through hmt. *α* is defective, omitting "for . . . by her." Our text apparently was known to the writer of the Opus Imperfectum on Matt. i. 3: Mater autem ejus cum esset Chananaea hortaretur eam accipere ex genere suo: ille consilio matris usus non contigit eam. Propter quod percussit eum Dominus malignantem.

4. Text follows *β* A S[1], though A is slightly defective. *α* reads: "And I gave her to Aunan my second son and, behold, the Lord slew him."

5. Text follows *β* A S[1]. *α* omits.

*Wickedness.* A reads "his wickedness."

6. *His mother* (*α*). *β* A S[1] read "my wife Bathshua."

*Did not permit it.* So Jub. xli. 7, "Bedsuel the wife of Judah did not permit her son Shelah to marry."

*Against Tamar.* This phrase is found only in *b d e* S.

*As she also herself was* (*α a e f*). *b g* A[bhb*] read "as she herself was." *d* A[cdefg] omit.

wicked, but the impulse of youth blinded my mind. 2. And when I saw her pouring out wine, owing to the intoxication of wine was I deceived, and took her although my father had not counselled (it). 3. And while I was away she went and took for Shelah a wife from Canaan. 4. And when I knew what she had done, I cursed her in the anguish of my soul. 5. And she also died through her wickedness together with her sons.

XII. And after these things, while Tamar was a widow, she heard after two years that I was going up to shear my sheep, and adorned herself in bridal array, and sat in the city Enaim by the gate. [2. For it was a law of the Amorites, that she who was about to marry should sit in fornication seven days by the gate.] 3. Therefore being

XI. 1. *Impulse.* So I have rendered *διαβούλιον* on the supposition that it is here a rendering of יֵצֶר.

2. *Pouring out wine, owing to the intoxication of wine* (β) = משקה במשחה. α reads "pouring out wine" and A "owing to intoxication," $S^1$ "owing to the intoxication of wine." α cannot be right as the verb "was deceived" requires such a statement as that in A. The text of β is supported by xiii. 5-7.

*Took her although my father had not counselled* (it) (†ἔλαβον αὐτὴν μὴ βουλευσαμένου τοῦ πατρός μου). So α. For this sense of *βουλεύεσθαι* cf. 2 Sam. xvi. 23, xvii. 7, 21, etc. Perhaps we should read as in xiii. 4 *μὴ συμβουλευσάμενος τῷ πατρί μου*. The text of α, which speaks of wedlock is supported by xiii. 3, where it practically recurs in the same connection. β $S^1$ read †*συνέπεσα πρὸς αὐτὴν* = ונפלתי לה (בה or), where the verb is corrupt for בעלתי, which in later Hebrew is used of licit or illicit sexual intercourse, and is therefore just the word which suits in xiii. 3, 7, and T. Jos. ix. 5, where it occurs again. Hence β $S^1$ = *συνεγενόμην αὐτῇ*, "I had intercourse, lay with her." Thus α and β represent two distinct types of text. A = *συνέπεσα πρὸς βουλὰς αὐτῆς*, a corrupt conflation of α and β.

3. In Jub. xli. 7 it is merely said that Bathshua prevented her son Shelah from marrying.

*Canaan* (α). β-*d* $S^1$ read "the land of Canaan," A "the Canaanites."

5. *Through her wickedness together with her sons* (α). β A $S^1$ read "through the wickedness of her sons."

XII. Cf. Gen. xxxviii. 12-26; Jub. xli. 8-23.

1. *Adorned herself.* Cf. Jub. xli. 9, "adorned herself." So also LXX (*ἐκαλλωπίσατο*) Syr. and Onkelos of Gen. xxxviii. 14, though the Massoretic has "enwrapped herself."

*Enaim.* So *c e* reading Ἐνᾶν corrupted in *h* α into ἔναντι and in *b d* into ἀπέναντι. This town is referred to in Gen. xxxviii. 14 in this connection. Here our text agrees with the LXX against the Targums and Syriac, which do not take this word as a proper name. This name is omitted in Jub. xli. 9.

*By the gate.* α adds "of the inn."

2. *Who was about to marry* (β $S^1$ *γαμοῦσαν*). α reads "who was a widow" (*χηρεύουσαν*).

*Should sit in fornication*, etc. With this custom we might compare that which was practised by the Assyrian women who offered their virginity to the goddess Mylitta when about to marry. Cf. Herod i. 199.

*Seven days by the gate* (β A $S^1$). α om.

drunk with wine, I did not recognise her; and her beauty deceived me, through the fashion of her adorning. 4. And I turned aside to her, and said: Let me go in unto thee. And she said: What wilt thou give me? And I gave her my staff, and my girdle, and the diadem of my kingdom ⌜in pledge.⌝ And I went in unto her, and she conceived. 5. And not knowing what I had done, wished to slay her; but she privily sent my pledges, and put me to shame. 6. And when I called her, I heard also the secret words which ⌜I spoke⌝ when lying with her in my drunkenness; and I could not slay her, because it was from the Lord. 7. For I said, Lest haply she did it in subtlety, having received the pledge from another woman. 8. But I came not again near her while I lived, because I had done ⌜this⌝ abomination in ⌜all⌝ Israel. 9. Moreover, they who were in the city said that there was no harlot in the gate, because she came from another place, and sat for a while in the gate. 10. And I thought that no one knew that I had gone in to her. 11. And after this we came into Egypt ⌜to Joseph⌝, because of the famine. 12. And I was

3. *With wine, I did not recognise her* (*a*). *β-d f* A$^{abb*cdefg}$ S$^{1}$ read "at the waters of Kozeba I did not recognise her by reason of wine." These "waters of Kozeba" have already been referred to in vi. 1.

4. *Let me go* (*β* A S$^{1}$). *a* reads "I am going."

*Staff, . . . girdle, . . . diadem* (*β* A S$^{1}$). *a* reads "staff . . . signet . . . diadem." Thus instead of חתם=ring (*a*), *β* A S$^{1}$ read פתיל="cord." The latter is right. Cf. xv. 3. Thus *a* om. פתיל and *β* A S$^{1}$ om. חתם of three pledges mentioned in Gen. xxxviii. 18, signet, cord, staff, and add diadem, *διάδημα* (= כתם or כתר). Jub. xlvi. 11 reads "signet . . . necklace . . . staff," where necklace = *ὁρμίσκος* = פתיל.

*Diadem of my kingdom.* As we saw in the preceding note this phrase is an addition to our text peculiar to our author. It is added to bring forward the kingship of Judah.

*In pledge* (*a*). *β* A S$^{1}$ om.

5. *I had done* (*a d g* A). *β-d g* S$^{1}$ read "she had done."

*Wished to slay her* (*β-d g* A S$^{1}$). *a d g* om.

*But she privily sent my pledges, and put me to shame* (*β d g* A S$^{1}$). *a* reads "I sent to receive the pledge" and omits next four verses and substitutes in their stead an abbreviated form of the LXX of Gen. xxxviii. 20, 24-30.

7. Either this verse is an interpolation or the last clause of ver. 6.

9. *Harlot.* Here *τελισκομένην* (*b g*) is a rendering of קרשה="temple prostitute" consecrated to the worship of Astarte. Cf. Deut. xxiii. 18; Gen. xxxviii. 21, 22. The period of this prostitution was in certain cases limited, as in ver. 2 above. *a e f* here read *τελωνουμένην*, but this is not so idiomatic. Cf. LXX on Deut. xxiii. 18.

*Gate*$^{1°}$ (*a e f*$_{1}$ A). *b g* S$^{1}$ read "city."

forty and six years old, and seventy and three years lived I in Egypt.

XIII. And now I command you, my children, hearken ⌜to Judah your father,⌝ and keep my sayings to perform all the ordinances of the Lord, and to obey the commands of God. 2. And walk not after your lusts, nor in the imaginations of your thoughts in haughtiness of heart; and glory not in the deeds and strength of your youth, for this also is evil in the eyes of the Lord. 3. Since I also gloried that in wars no comely woman's face ever enticed me, and reproved Reuben my brother concerning Bilhah, the wife of my father, the spirits of jealousy and of fornication arrayed themselves against me, until I lay with Bathshua the Canaanite, and Tamar, who was espoused to my sons. 4. For I said to my father-in-law:

12. *Forty and six years.* According to Jub. xxviii. 15, xlv. 1 Judah was forty-three years old when he went down into Egypt, and Levi forty-five.

Hence since Levi according to T. Levi xii. 5 (Aram. Frag.) was forty-eight, both books preserve the same difference of age between the two brothers, though they disagree as to their ages.

*Seventy-three.* This number combined with forty-six amounts to 119 years, which agrees with the statement in xxvi. 2.

XIII. 1. *I command . . . Judah your father* (*a*). *a e f* read "as I tell (*f* om. "as I tell") I command you, hearken my children to Judah your father," *b g* $S^1$ "in whatsoever things I command you hearken my children to (+Judah *g*) your father," A "hearken my children to whatsoever things I command you."

*My sayings* (*a*). *β* $S^1$ read "all my sayings," A "the saying of Judah your father."

2. *Walk not* (=πορεύεσθε *β* A $S^1$). *a* reads "*be not evil*" (πονηρεύεσθε corrupt).

*Nor in the imaginations of your thoughts* (*β-a g* $S^1$). A implies the same text but is corrupt. *a a g* om. The phrase appears to be borrowed from 1 Chron. xxviii. 9 כל יצר מחשבות. See note on T. Ash. i. 3.

*Haughtiness of heart.* Cf. Jer. xlviii. 29.

*Of heart* (*a f*). *β-f* $S^1$ read "your heart."

*Deeds and strength* (*a*). *β-b g* read "strength (+and *d*) deeds," *b* "deeds of strength," A $S^1$ "strength of deeds."

3. *No comely woman's face ever enticed me* (*β*). *a* reads "a face never met me" (sic), A "never was I enticed through the comeliness of comely women," $S^1$ "comely women never met me."

*Enticed* (ἠπάτησε). ἀπατᾶν here appears to render פתה. *a* ($S^1$) read ὑπήντησε, which may be a corruption of ἠπάτησε.

*I lay with Bathshua.* *β* A $S^1$ reads †συνέπεσα εἰς B. where the verb=נפלתי, which, as in the note on xi. 2, I take to be corrupt for בעלתי="I lay with" or "I had intercourse with." *d* adds here "and I took her to wife in like manner." *a* reads συνετέλεσα, which may be a corruption native to the Greek, or may point to another corruption in the Hebrew, בליתי. See also ver. 7.

*Who was espoused to my sons.* So *β* A $S^1$, save that A $S^1$ read "son" for "sons." *a* reads "my daughter-in-law."

I will take counsel with my father, and so will I take thy daughter. And he was unwilling, but he showed me a boundless store of gold in his daughter's behalf; for he was a king. 5. And he adorned her with gold and pearls, and caused her to pour out wine for us at the feast †with the beauty of women.† 6. And the wine turned aside my eyes, and pleasure blinded my heart. 7. And I became enamoured of and I lay with her, and transgressed the commandment of the Lord and the commandment of my fathers, and I took her to wife. 8. And the Lord rewarded me according to the imagination of my heart, inasmuch as I had no joy in her children.

XIV. And now, my children, ⌜I say unto you,⌝ be not drunk with wine; for wine turneth the mind away from the truth, and inspires the passion of lust, and leadeth the eyes into error. 2. For the spirit of fornication hath wine as a minister to give pleasure to the mind; for these two also take away the mind of man. 3. For if a man drink wine to drunkenness, it disturbeth the mind with filthy thoughts ⌜leading to fornication⌝, and heateth the body to carnal union; and if the occasion of the lust be present, he

4. *For* (α). β A S$^{1}$ "and."

*And he was unwilling, but* (α). β-*d* A S$^{1}$ read "and."

5. *Gold.* A adds "and silver."

†*With the beauty of women*†. This clause, omitted by *c* A$^{b}$, is a literal rendering of the difficult ἐν κάλλει γυναικῶν, which = בהדר נשים, which may be original, but, if so, should perhaps be rendered "with the ornaments of women," and be read immediately after "gold and pearls." Or הדר may be corrupt for חדר. Then we should render "in the women's apartment."

6. *Pleasure blinded my heart* (*h i a e f g* S). *c* A$^{abcefg}$ read "blinded my heart through pleasure."

7. *Lay with her.* Text reads †συνέπεσα εἰς αὐτήν, on which see notes on xi. 2, xiii. 3.

*Fathers* (β A S$^{1}$). α reads "father."

8. *Heart* (β-*a*|A S$^{1}$). α *a* read "soul."

XIV. 1. *I say unto you* (*h*). *c* reads "I say." β A S$^{1}$ om.

*Be not drunk with wine.* Cf. Eph. v. 18, "be not drunk with wine wherein is profligacy (ἡ ἀσωτία)." The la$^{t}$ter half of this sentence is found in xvi. 1

2. *The mind of man* (διάνοιαν *a* A$^{a\,f}$). β A$^{bb^{*}\,cdeg}$ S read "the might of man" (δύναμιν).

3. The translation follows, β A S$^{1}$.

*A man drink* (β A S$^{1}$). α reads "thou drinkest."

*The mind* (β A S$^{1}$). α reads "thy mind."

*To fornication, and* (β A (though omitting "and") S$^{1}$). α reads "and to fornication."

*Carnal union* (μίξιν—β A S). α reads "pleasure" (ἡδονήν).

*If the occasion of the lust be present* (β A S$^{1}$). α om.

worketh the sin, and is not ashamed. 4. Such is the inebriated man, my children; for he who is drunken reverenceth no man. 5. For, lo, it made me also to err, so that I was not ashamed of the multitude in the city, in that before the eyes of all I turned aside unto Tamar, and I wrought a great sin, and I uncovered the covering of my sons' shame. 6. After I had drunk wine I reverenced not the commandment of God, and I took a woman of Canaan to wife. 7. For much discretion needeth the man who drinketh wine, my children; and herein is discretion in drinking wine, a man may drink so long as he preserveth modesty. 8. But if he go beyond this limit the spirit of deceit attacketh his mind, and it maketh the drunkard to talk filthily, and to transgress and not to be ashamed, but even to glory in his shame, and account himself honourable.

XV. He that committeth fornication is not aware when he suffers loss, and is not ashamed when put to dishonour. 2. For even though a man be a king and commit fornication, he is stripped of his kingship by becoming the slave of fornication, as I myself also suffered. 3. For I gave my staff, that is, the stay of my tribe; and my girdle, that is, my power; and my diadem, that is, the glory of my

4. *The inebriated man.* That is ὁ πάροινος. So I emend. *a a f* read "the evil man" (πονηρός), *e* "the fornicator" (πόρνος), *b* A $S^1$ "wine" (οἶνος).

5. *Covering* (κάλυμμα). The original was probably יצנ (cf. Deut. xxiii. 1, xxvii. 20, etc.), which is rendered in the LXX by συγκάλυμμα.

7. *For much discretion* (*a*). *β-b d g* read "discretion," *b d* $S^1$ "wherefore discretion," *g* A "discretion."

*A man may drink* (*a*). *β-d g* $S^1$ read "that a man should drink." For "a man may drink . . . modesty." A reads "that a man should drink with modesty whilst he has wine."

8. *This limit* (*β-d* A $S^1$). *a d* read "the limit."

*Glory in his shame* (ἐγκαυχᾶσθαι τῇ ἀτιμίᾳ). Cf. Phil. iii. 19 ὧν . . . ἡ δόξα ἐν τῇ αἰσχύνῃ αὐτῶν. These look like two independent translations of the same original.

XV. 1-2. Cf. Reub. iv. 7.

2. *Even though a man be a king and commit fornication he is stripped, of his kingship* (*a*). *β* A read "even though a man be a king if he commit fornication he is stripped of and goes forth from his kingship."

*As I myself also suffered* (*a d*). *β* A $S^1$ read "being stripped as I myself also."

3. *For* (*β* A). *a* $S^1$ om.

*Staff*, etc. See xii. 4. *Girdle, that is. a a d f* omit next seven words through hmt.

kingdom. 4. And indeed I repented of these things; wine and flesh I eat not until my old age, nor did I behold any joy. 5. And the angel of God showed me that for ever do women bear rule over king and beggar alike. 6. And from the king they take away his glory, and from the valiant man his might, and from the beggar even that little which is the stay of his poverty.

XVI. Observe, therefore, my children, the (right) limit in wine; for there are in it four evil spirits—of lust, of hot desire, of profligacy, of filthy lucre. 2. If ye drink wine in gladness, be ye modest with the fear of God. For if in (your) gladness the fear of God departeth, then drunkenness ariseth and shamelessness stealeth in. 3. But if you would live soberly do not touch wine at all, lest ye sin in words of outrage, and in fightings and slanders, and transgressions of the commandments of God, and ye perish before your time. 4. Moreover, wine revealeth the mysteries of God and men, even as I also revealed the commandments of God and the mysteries of Jacob my father to the Canaan-

4. *Eat* ($\alpha$ A). $\beta$ $S^1$ read "took."
*Joy.* *c* reads "folly."
5. *For ever* ($\beta$ A $S^1$ though *b* $S^1$ add it before "that"). $\alpha$ om.
*Beggar alike.* $\alpha$ adds "and in them there is no advance of life (*προκοπὴ ζωῆς*), *i.e.* "so that they make no progress."
XVI. 1. With this verse together with xix. 1, "the love of money leadeth to idolatry," compare Col. iii. 5 "fornication, uncleanness, passion, evil desire, and covetousness, the which is idolatry"; also Eph. v. 5 "no fornicator nor unclean person nor covetous man, which is an idolater." See also note on xiv. 1, xxi. 1.
*Hot desire, i.e. πύρωσις.*
*Profligacy* (*ἀσωτία*). It can hardly be an accident when St. Paul writes *οἴνῳ ἐν ᾧ ἐστιν ἀσωτία.*
2. *Be ye modest with the fear of God* ($\alpha$). $\beta$-*d* $S^1$ read "being modest with the fear of God (drink ye)." *b* without any justification supplies *ζήσεσθε.* A = "with the fear of the Lord and modesty drink ye."
*For if in* (*your*) *gladness the fear of God departeth* (*e f* A $S^1$, save that for "gladness," *εὐφροσύνῃ e f* read "folly," *ἀφροσύνῃ*). *b* reads "for if ye drink without modesty and the fear of God departeth." $\alpha$ omits through hmt. *d g* are corrupt.
3. *But if . . . wine at all* ($\alpha$). *a e f* read "But what say I? do not drink at all," *d* "but I tell you, if it is possible for you, do not drink wine at all," A "and it is a good thing not to drink wine at all." *b g* are defective. $S^1$ corrupt but tends to support *a e f.*
*In fightings* ($\alpha$ *g*). $\beta$-*g* A read "of fighting."
*Before your time.* Here *οὐκ ἐν καιρῷ αὐτῶν* = בְּטֶרֶם עִתָּם. Cf. T. Reub. iv. 6.
4. *God and men.* *b* $A^{abb*d}$ add "to aliens."
*Bathshua* (*b d* A $S^1$). $\alpha$ $\beta$-*b d* om.

itish woman Bathshua, which God bade me not to reveal. 5. And wine is a cause both of war and confusion.

XVII. And now I command you, my children, not to love money, nor to gaze upon the beauty of women; because for the sake of money and beauty I was led astray to Bathshua the Canaanite. [2. For I know that because of these two things shall my race fall into wickedness. 3. For even wise men among my sons shall they mar, and shall cause the kingdom of Judah to be diminished, which the Lord gave me because of my obedience to my father. 4. For I never caused grief to Jacob, my father; for all things whatsoever he commanded I did. 5. And Isaac, the father of my father, blessed me to be king in Israel, and Jacob further blessed me in like manner. 6. And I know that from me shall the kingdom be established.

α

XVIII. And I know what evils ye will do in the last days.]

β A $S^1$

For I have also read in the books of Enoch the righteous what evils ye will do in the last days.]

*Which* (α). β $S^1$ read "to whom." 5. α omits.

XVII. 1. *And now* (α). *b d* S read "therefore," *a e f g* $A^{ab*}$cdeg om.

*Nor to gaze upon*, etc. See note on T. Reub. iv. 1.

xvii. 2-xviii. 1. I have bracketed this section as a later addition. It breaks the connection between xvii. 1 and xviii. 2.

2. *For* (β-*d* A $S^1$). α reads "and."

*Into wickedness* (ἐν πονηρία β $S^1$). α reads "into the perdition of fornication," A "into fornication" (ἐν πορνείᾳ).

3. *Because of my obedience to my father.* For various reasons for the pre-eminence of the tribe of Judah see *Jewish Encyc.* vii. 328.

4. *Caused grief to Jacob* (α *a* $A^b$). β-*a g* $S^1$ read "caused grief to the word of Jacob," $A^{ab*}$cdeg "caused grief to Jacob . . . by words." The β text is decidedly the more difficult. If it is the more original, ἐλύπησα τὸν λόγον = הסרותי לדבר, which may be corrupt for הִמְרֵיתִי ברבר = ἠπείθησα τῷ λόγῳ.

5-6. On the kingship of Judah cf. T. Sim. vii. 2; T. Jud. xxi. 6, xxii. 3.

5. *Isaac* (*d* A). α β-*d* $S^1$ read "Abraham." I have followed the reading of *d* A because Abraham was according to every computation dead before Judah was born.

*Father of my father* (β A $S^1$). *c* reads "great grandfather," *h* "ancestor."

*Blessed me.* εὐλόγησέ με = ברכני, which may be corrupt for בחרני (or בירדני?) "chose me." εὐλόγησέ με βασιλεύειν ἐν Ἰσραήλ is hardly explicable either in Hebrew or Greek. If εὐλόγησε is original, λέγων should be restored after it. Cf. i. 6 note. Hence: "blessed me, saying that I should be king," etc.

*Jacob* (α *d*). β-*d* A $S^1$ read "Isaac."

*In like manner* (β A $S^1$). α reads "thus." See Gen. xlix. 8-12 for Jacob's blessing of Judah.

XVIII. 1. *And I know* (α). β A $S^1$ read as above. See note on x. 1.

2. Beware, therefore, my children, of fornication and the love of money, and hearken to Judah your father.
3. For these things withdraw you from the law of God,
And blind the inclination of the soul,
And teach arrogance,
And suffer not a man to have compassion upon his neighbour.
4. They rob his soul of all goodness,
And oppress him with toils and troubles,
⌜And drive away sleep from him,⌝
And devour his flesh.
5. And he hindereth the sacrifices of God;
⌜And he remembereth not the blessing of God,⌝
He hearkeneth not to a prophet when he speaketh,
And resenteth the words of godliness.
⌜6. For he is a slave to two contrary passions,
And cannot obey God,
Because they have blinded his soul,
And he walketh in the day as in the night.⌝

XIX. My children, the love of money leadeth to idolatry; because, when led astray through money, men name as gods

3. *Blind*, etc. Cf. xiii. 6.

4. *Drive away sleep from him* (*a*—*τὸν ὕπνον ἐκδιώκει ἀπ' αὐτοῦ*). *β-d g* S[1] read "put away his sleep" (*ἀφιστᾷ ὕπνον αὐτοῦ*). The latter agrees exactly with the Greek of Sir. xlii. 9, save in adding *αὐτοῦ*. The Syriac supports the *αὐτοῦ*. The Hebrew is defective here. Both Greek verbs may be renderings of יָנַר. On phrase see T. Sim. iv. 8.

5. *He hearkeneth* (*a*). *β* A S[1] read "and he hearkeneth."

6. *For he is a slave . . . passions, and* (*a f*). *a e* S[1] read "For being a slave to the passions contrary to the commandments of God." *b g* are corrupt but imply such a text as *a e* S[1].

Cf. Matt. vi. 24 "Ye cannot serve God and mammon."

*Walketh in the day.* Cf. Rom. xiii. 13 "Let us walk . . . as in the day."

XIX. 1. *The love of money* (*φιλαργυρία*) *leadeth to idolatry.* Cf. Col. iii. 5 *πλεονεξίαν ἥτις ἐστὶν εἰδωλολατρία* and Eph. v. 5 *πλεονέκτης ὅ ἐστιν εἰδωλολάτρης.* These can hardly be coincidences. *φιλαργυρία* and *πλεονεξία*, though they differ somewhat in meaning, could both be renderings of אהבת הבצע. Next we observe that there may have been a play upon words in the original, *i.e.* בצע leading to עצב (an idol). Cf. Matt. vi. 24 "Ye cannot serve God and mammon"; Shem. rab. 121. 3 qui opes suas multiplicat per foenus, ille est idolatra. Philo, *De Mon.* i. 2 *ἀργύριον καὶ χυσίον . . . ὡς ἄγαλμα θεῖον ἐν ἀδύτοις θησαυροφυλακοῦσιν.*

*Idolatry* (*a*). *β* A S[1] read "idols."

those who are not gods, and it causeth him who hath it to fall into madness. 2. For the sake of money I lost my children, and had not my repentance, ⌈and my humiliation,⌉ and the prayers of my father been accepted, I should have died childless. 3. But the God of my fathers had mercy on me, because I did it in ignorance. 4. And the prince of deceit blinded me, and I was ignorant as a man and as flesh, being corrupted through sins; ⌈and I learnt my own weakness while thinking myself invincible⌉.

XX. Know, therefore, my children, that two spirits wait upon man—the spirit of truth and the spirit of deceit. 2. And in the midst is the spirit of the understanding of the mind, to which it belongeth to turn whithersoever it will. 3. And the works of truth and the works of deceit are

2. *My repentance* (*α*). *β-f* A S read "the repentance of my flesh."

*My humiliation* (*α*). *β* $S^1$ read "the humiliation of my soul."

*Prayers of my father.* Cf. T. Reub. i. 7, iv. 3; T. Gad v. 9. *β* $A^{a\,b*\,c\,d\,e\,f\,g}$ $S^1$ add "Jacob."

*Been accepted.* *α* reads †συνέδραμον, *β* $S^1$ om. $A^{-b}$ ἔσωζον, $A^b$ οὐκ ἂν ἐσώθην καί. Here the readings of A may represent attempts to make the text intelligible or possibly ἔσωζον=עזרו as it does in a few cases in the LXX. *β* simply omitted the unintelligible †συνέδραμον. This latter=רצו, corrupt for נרצו=ἐδέχθησαν or עזרו="helped." See parallel expression in T. Gad v. 9 note.

3. *Had mercy on me* (ἐλέησέ με—*α*). *β* $S^1$ read "the compassionate and merciful pardoned me" (συνέγνω), A "is compassionate and merciful and knew" (ἔγνω). Cf. Jub. xli. 25 "he received forgiveness because he turned from his sin and because of his ignorance." 1 Tim. i. 13 ἐλεήθην, ὅτι ἀγνοῶν ἐποιησα seems to be dependent on our text. Cf. also Pss. Sol. xvii. 6 ἡ παιδεία τῶν δικαίων ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ : iii. 9.

4. *Blinded me.* A="made me offend."

*As flesh.* Cf. T. Zeb. ix. 7.

XX. 1-3. Here *α* is almost wholly wanting. Ver. 1 is lost wholly, only four words of ver. 2 are preserved and the last clause of ver. 3.

1. *The spirit of truth.* Cf. John xv. 26. With the spirit of good and the spirit of evil in our text we might compare the conceptions of the good impulse and the bad (יצר הטוב—יצר הרע) as in T. Ash. i. 4.

2-5. We have here an admirable description of man's attitude to good and evil, which are here personified as spirits of good and evil. His will can determine for either (ver. 2). The results of his volitions are forthwith written on his heart, *i.e.* on his character, and are ever open to the eyes of God (3-4). But the spirit of goodness not only exhorts to righteousness but on the commission of evil appears as an accuser in the sinner's heart.

2. Apparently the faculty of the will is here referred to. For "understanding" (συνέσεως), *α* reads "conscience" συνειδήσεως.

3. Text follows *b* $S^1$. *d g* are defective owing to hmt. A="for unrighteousness and truth are written on the heart of man." *e f* agree with *b* $S^1$ save in reading παραβάλλει for γέγραπται. *α* omits as we have mentioned above.

*The works of truth . . . are written on the hearts of men.* According to Jer. xxxi. 33 God writes His law on the

written upon the hearts of men, and each one of them the Lord knoweth. 4. And there is no time at which the works of men can be hid; for on the heart itself have they been written down ⌜before the Lord⌝. 5. And the spirit of truth testifieth all things, and accuseth all; and the sinner is burnt up ⌜by his own heart⌝, and cannot raise his face ⌜to the judge⌝.

XXI. And now, my children, I command you, love Levi, that ye may abide, and ⌜exalt not yourselves against him⌝, lest ye be utterly destroyed. 2. ⌜For to me the Lord gave the kingdom, and to him the priesthood, and He set the kingdom beneath the priesthood. 3. To me He gave the things upon the earth; to him the things in the heavens. 4. As the heaven is higher than the earth, so is the priesthood of God higher than the earthly kingdom, unless it falls away

hearts of men (על לבם אכתבנה), but man can also write these on his own heart according to Prov. iii. 3, "write them on the tables of thy heart" (כתבם על לוח לבך). The word for "hearts" in our text is *στῆθος* but this is used as a rendering of לֵב in Exod. xxviii. 23, 26.

4. Text follows *β-a g* $A^{b}$ $S^{1}$. $A^{-b}$ is defective. *a* reads: "And there is no time in which the works of men can escape Him for even the breasts of their bones (*τὰ στήθη τῶν ὀστέων αὐτῶν*) are written by the Lord."

*On the heart itself.* *β-a g* $S^{1}$ read *ἐν στήθει ὀστέων αὐτοῦ* = בלב עצמו which should have been rendered "on the heart itself." Cf. Keth. 77 b, עשה בשביל כבוד עצמך, "do it on account of thy honour itself." This idiom is familiar in the OT., but the order of the words is different: בעצם לבו. Cf. Exod. xxiv. 10; Job xxi. 23. A omits *ὀστέων* because unintelligible, and $S^{1}$ emends the text wrongly.

5. *The spirit of truth testifieth all things, and* (*β* A). Cf. John xv. 26 *τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας . . . μαρτυρήσει περὶ ἐμοῦ*. *a* omits "testifieth all things and"; $S^{1}$ reads "heareth both and," which is clearly corrupt.

*Testifieth* (*μαρτυρεῖ*) . . . *accuseth* (*κατηγορεῖ*). Cf. Rom. ii. 15 *συμμαρτυρούσης αὐτῶν τῆς συνειδήσεως* and *μεταξὺ ἀλλήλων τῶν λογισμῶν κατηγορούντων ἢ καὶ ἀπολογουμένων*; Joseph. *c. Ap.* ii. 218, *ἕκαστος αὐτῷ τὸ συνειδὸς ἔχων μαρτυροῦν*. We have here a remarkable personification in the case of "the spirit of truth." In St. Paul the conscience, as with the ancients, "was the faculty which passed judgment upon actions *after they were done* . . . not so much as the general source of moral obligation" (Sanday and Headlam on *Romans*, p. 61). In our text, however, the office of the spirit of truth is not confined to judgment on actions already done, but appears to have been a source of inspiration. Cf. ver. 1.

*Burnt up by his own heart.* Cf. T. Gad v. 3.

XXI. The pre-eminence of Levi is enforced here as in T. Reub. vi. 5-12; T. Sim. v. 5, vii. 1, 2; T. Lev. viii. 11-17, xviii. 2 sqq.; T. Naph. v. 4.

1. "I command you, love" (*a*). *β* A $S^{1}$ read "love."

*Exalt not yourselves against him.* Cf. T. Reub. vi. 5 note.

4. *As the heaven is . . . is the priesthood of God higher* (*β-f* $S^{1}$). *a* reads "for so the priesthood of God is higher."

*Heaven higher than the earth.* Cf. T. Levi xiv. 3.

*Unless it falls . . . earthly kingdom.* *b d* om. through hmt.

through sin from the Lord and is dominated by the earthly kingdom.] 5. For [the angel of the Lord said unto me]: The Lord chose him rather than thee, to draw near to Him, and to eat of His table [and to offer Him the first-fruits] of the choice things of the sons of Israel; but thou shalt be king of Jacob.

6. And thou shalt be amongst them as the sea. For as, on the sea, just and unjust are tossed about, [some taken into captivity while some are enriched,] so also shall every race of men be in thee: some shall be impoverished, being taken captive, [and others grow rich by plundering the possessions of others].

7. For the kings shall be as sea-monsters.
They shall swallow men like fishes:
The sons and daughters [of freemen] shall they enslave;
Houses, lands, flocks, money shall they plunder:

8. And with the flesh of many shall they [wrongfully] feed
the ravens and the cranes;

5. *For the angel of the Lord said unto me* (*a*). *β* A S[1] read "For." Clearly *β* A S[1] are defective here.

*Thee.* A reads "you," which is an attempt at mending a defective text.

*To eat of His table.* Cf. T. Lev. viii. 16 note.

*To offer Him the first-fruits of the choice things* (*a*). *β* S[1] read "the first-fruits of the choice things"; A "the choice things."

*Thou shalt be king of Jacob.* Cf. xvii. 5-6.

XXI. 6–XXIII. This section cannot belong to the groundwork. It constitutes a severe polemic against the kings (xxi. 6-8), probably Aristobulus II. and Hyrcanus II. (70-40 B.C.). For civil strife is dwelt on and the overthrow of the Jewish monarchy by aliens (xxii. 1, 2), *i.e.* the Romans, as in T. Zeb. ix. 2-4. On the other hand, it must be admitted that the description of the visitations (xxiii. 3-5) that Israel should endure at this period are more in keeping with the fall of Jerusalem in 588 B.C., or the persecution under Antiochus Epiphanes. Indeed the entire section is full of difficulties from whatever standpoint we regard it.

XXI. 6. *Amongst* (*a e f g*). *a b* read "to."

*The sea* (*a a d f*). *b e* A read "a sea."

*Just and unjust* (*β-a f* A S[1]). *a a f* read "just."

*Will be impoverished.* Text reads †κινδυνεύουσιν which = מְסֻכָּנִים, which the translator should have punctuated as מְסַכְּנִים = πτωχεύσουσιν, a word which, though only found in Eccles. iv. 13, ix. 1, 5, 16, is common in Syriac, Arabic, and Ethiopic. The former word which is found only in Eccles. x. 9 is frequent in later Hebrew. The text demands an antithesis to πλουτοῦσιν.

*The possessions of others* (*a*). *β* A S[1] om.

7. With this verse cf. 1 Sam. viii. 11-17.

*Sons and daughters.* Cf. 1 Sam. viii. 11, 13.

*Houses, lands,* etc. Cf. 1 Sam. viii. 14.

*Money* (*a b* A). *β-b* S[1] om.

8. *Will* †*advance in evil, in covetousness uplifted*† (προκόψουσιν ἐπὶ κακῷ

⌜And they shall †advance in evil, in covetousness uplifted,†⌝

9. And there shall be false prophets ⌜like⌝ tempests,
And they shall persecute all righteous men.

XXII. And the Lord shall bring upon them divisions ⌜one against another⌝.

And there shall be ⌜continual⌝ wars in Israel;

2. And among men of another race shall my kingdom be brought to an end,
Until the salvation of Israel shall come,
⌜Until the appearing of the God of righteousness⌝,
That Jacob [and all the Gentiles] may rest in peace.

3. And He shall guard the might of my kingdom for ever;
For the Lord sware to me with an oath that He would not destroy the kingdom from my seed for ever.

XXIII. Now I have much grief, my children, because of your lewdness and witchcrafts, and idolatries which ye shall

(*β-a f* τὸ κακὸν) ἐν πλεονεξίᾳ ὑψούμενοι). Perhaps it may be rendered "they will grow worse in covetousness as they get uplifted," comparing 2 Tim. ii. 16 ἐπὶ πλεῖον γὰρ προκόψουσιν ἀσεβείας, and iii. 13. The same Hebrew would probably explain our text and 2 Tim. ii. 16.

9. *False prophets like tempests.* Text seems unsatisfactory.

XXII. 1. *Divisions one against another, i.e.* the civil wars between Aristobulus II. and Hyrcanus II. 70-40 B.C. Cf. T. Zeb. ix. 2-4.

*Continual wars.* During the civil wars in the reign of Alexander Jannæus 50,000 Jews are said to have perished (Schürer, *H.J.P.* i. 1. 301). From the death of Alexander to the accession of Herod Palestine was hardly ever free from civil strife.

2. *Shall my kingdom be brought to an end, i.e.* in 40 B.C., for a Jew would not regard the Idumean dynasty as Jewish.

*Until the salvation*, etc. The Messianic kingdom foretold, in which Judah would be restored to the hegemony.

[*And all the Gentiles*]. I have bracketed this phrase as an interpolation. It is omitted by A, and this universalism is not in keeping with the temper of this section.

*He would not . . . for ever* (*a* A save that *c* om. "from my seed"). The other authorities are very confused. *b g* read "the kingdom shall not fail from me and my seed all the days for ever"; *a f* "my kingdom should not fail from my seed (+'all the days,' *a*) for ever"; A "not to cause the kingdom to fail ('not to take the kingdom,' $S^1$) from my seed (+'all the days,' $S^1$) for ever."

3. *Not destroy the kingdom from my seed.* See xvii. 5-6 note. The text might be based on Gen. xlix. 10, "The sceptre shall not depart from Judah," etc.

XXIII. If A is right in omitting the phrase "against the kingdom" in ver. 1, this chapter is simply a denunciation of the evils of the Jewish nation as a whole, and a prediction of the judgments that shall befall it, in which the diction is coloured by the accounts of the fall of Jerusalem in 588, or its sufferings under Antiochus Epiphanes.

1. *And idolatries* (*β* A $S^1$). *a* om. The presence of this phrase is against the genuineness of "against the kingdom."

practise [against the kingdom], following them that have familiar spirits, diviners, and demons of error. 2. Ye shall make your daughters singing girls and harlots, and ye shall mingle in the abominations of the Gentiles. 3. For which things' sake the Lord shall bring upon you famine and pestilence, death and the sword, beleaguering by enemies, and revilings of friends, the slaughter of children, the rape of wives, the plundering of possessions, [the burning of the

[*Against the kingdom*]. Probably an interpolation. A omits it and the context is against it. See preceding note.

*Them that have familiar spirits.* For these ἐγγαστρίμυθοι (אוֹבִים or יִדְּעֹנִים), see Lev. xix. 31, xx. 6, 27; Is. xix. 3.

*Diviners.* These κληδόνες are the מְעוֹנְנִים, Deut. xviii. 10; Judg. ix. 37; Mic. v. 11.

2. *Your daughters . . . harlots.* Cf. Pss. Sol. ii. 14, 15, "the daughters of Jerusalem were polluted according to thy judgment, because they had defiled themselves in unclean intercourse."

*Ye shall mingle in the abominations of the Gentiles.* Cf. Pss. Sol. ii. 13, 14. According to Pss. Sol. i. 8, viii. 14, they sinned in these respects beyond the Gentiles.

3. *Famine and pestilence* (λιμὸν καὶ λοιμόν) = רעב ודבר (Jer. xiv. 12). Possibly λοιμόν is here a dittography of λιμόν. If so, "famine, death, and sword" are the three destroying agencies mentioned in Jer. xiv. 12, xv. 2, etc.

*Sword* (A). αβ read "avenging sword," but the epithet spoils the parallelism.

*Beleaguering by enemies* (α A). Cf. Jer. xix. 9. αβ-α read "beleaguering, and dogs for rending in pieces of enemies." The phrase καὶ κύνας εἰς διασπασμόν, "and dogs for the rending of," is added here from the LXX of Jer. xv. 3, and forms a serious detriment to the text. The beleaguering may refer to Pompey's siege of Jerusalem.

*Revilings of friends.* After these words the text reads ἀπώλειαν καὶ σφακελισμὸν ὀφθαλμῶν (*h i* A om.), "the destruction and blighting of the eyes." This clause is impossible as it stands. The entire context is against two accusatives governing a single genitive, and the immediate context before and after requires a noun denoting persons instead of ὀφθαλμῶν. Hence the clause is partially or wholly interpolated or corrupt. (1) First, if ὀφθαλμῶν, which is omitted by *h i* A, is interpolated, ἀπώλειαν καὶ σφακελισμόν = שחת וכלה (for σφακελίζω in the only two places where it occurs in the LXX (Lev. xxvi. 16, Deut. xxviii. 32) is a rendering of כלה). This could easily be corrupt for שחת כלות = ἀπώλειαν νυμφῶν, which would suit the context in some respects, but it is not very probable. (2) Again, the entire phrase καὶ σφακελισμὸν ὀφθαλμῶν may be an interpolation like καὶ κύνας εἰς διασπασμόν above. In that case ἀπώλειαν would be a marginal gloss—explaining the rare word σφακελισμόν—which was subsequently taken into the text. (3) Or finally, ὀφθαλμῶν may represent some corruption in the original. In that case σφακ. ὀφθαλμῶν = כלת עינים where עינים is corrupt for עולים = παιδίων or νηπίων. Thus σφακ. ὀφθαλμῶν would be the translation of a corrupt dittography of the following clause, νηπίων ἀναίρεσιν, "the slaughter of children." As I am inclined to adopt (2) or (3) I have taken the clause to be an addition to the text.

*Slaughter of children.* A om. "slaughter" and connects "of children" with the two accusatives preceding: "the destruction and blighting of children."

*The rape of wives* (β A $S^1$). α om.

[*The burning of the temple*]. In Ps. lxxiv. 7—a Maccabean Psalm—the setting fire to the temple is referred to though it was only the gates that were

temple of God,] the laying waste of the land, the enslavement of yourselves among the Gentiles. 4. And they shall make some of you eunuchs for their wives.

α

5. Until the Lord visit you, when with perfect heart ye repent and walk in all His commandments, and He bring you up from captivity among the Gentiles.

β A $S^1$

5. Until ye turn unto the Lord with perfect heart repenting and walking in all the commandments of God, and the Lord visit you with mercy and bring you up from captivity among the Gentiles.

consumed (1 Macc. iv. 38). Nicanor subsequently threatened to burn the temple: 1 Macc. vii. 26-38; Jos. *Ant.* xii. 10. 4, 5. Since A om. this phrase, and no such incident occurred in the first century B.C., I have bracketed this clause.

*Laying waste of the land.* Cf. Pss. Sol. xvii. 13.

*Enslavement of yourselves among the Gentiles.* Antiochus Epiphanes sent Apollonius (2 Macc. v. 24) to Hellenise Jerusalem. Of such as offered resistance, the men were put to the sword and the women and children sold into slavery, 1 Macc. i. 29-40; 2 Macc. v. 23-26; Jos. *Ant.* xii. 5. 4. In later times when Pompey captured Jerusalem (63 B.C.), he carried off Aristobulus and a great number of clever Jews into captivity to Rome. Cf. Philo, *De legatione ad Cajum*, 23; Pss. Sol. ii. 6, οἱ υἱοὶ . . . ἐν αἰχμαλωσίᾳ πονηρᾷ . . . ἐν ἐπισήμῳ ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι, also xvii. 14; T. Zeb. ix. 6. Again in the year 49 B.C., C. Cassius Longinus after suppressing a revolt under Pitholaus, carried off 30,000 Jews into slavery (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 7. 3; *Bell. Jud.* i. 8. 9), and in 43 sold the inhabitants of Emmaus, Thamna, and Lydda as slaves when they were unable to raise the sum of money levied upon them (*Ant.* xiv. 11. 2; *Bell. Jud.* i. 11. 1, 2).

4. We find no information to this effect in connection with Antiochus Epiphanes, or later. It was the custom of the kings of Babylon to make eunuchs of captive princes, 2 Kings xx. 18. Eunuchs were in the courts of the Herods in our Lord's time: Jos. *Ant.* xv. 7. 4, xvi. 8. 1.

5. *β-b* A $S^1$ read as above save that for "until" *b g* A read "and when," and for "commandments of God and the Lord," A reads "His commandments."

*The Lord visit you . . . when . . . ye repent.* National repentance was according to most Jewish teachers the precondition of God's restoration of His people. Others held that everything was predestined and would come about independently of the action of man. This question is discussed in Sanh. 97[b] 98[a] between Eliezer ben Hyrkanus and Joshua ben Chananja. As for earlier works it is said in Jub. i. 15-17, 23; Ass. Mos. i. 18; Bar. iv. 28-37; Apoc. Bar. lxxviii. 6, 7, that God will visit and restore Israel to their own land on their repentance. Such national repentance is implied in Daniel's prayer, Dan. ix. 4-19. See Baldensberger, *Messianisch-Apok. Hoffnungen*[3], 1903, 218 sqq.; Bousset, *Religion des Judenthums*, 368 sqq.; Volz, *Jüd. Eschatologie*, 112; Weber, *Jüd. Theologie*[2], 348 sqq.

*From captivity.* See note on ver. 3. The dispersed Jews consisted of two classes: those who had voluntarily settled in other lands, and those who had been carried away captive. On the establishment of the Messianic kingdom all were to be brought back to Palestine, 1 En. xc. 33; Sir. xxxvi. 11; Pss. Sol. xvii. 28, 50, etc.

| $\alpha\beta S^1$ | A |
|---|---|
| XXIV. And after these things shall a star arise to you from Jacob in peace, | And after these things shall arise the star of peace, |
| And a man shall arise [from my seed], like the sun of righteousness, | |
| Walking with the sons of men in meekness and righteousness; | And he shall walk with men in meekness and righteousness. |

XXIV. This chapter is composite. Though verses 1-4 speak explicitly of a Messiah, of his character and the blessings that were to accompany his advent, verses 5, 6, take up the subject anew as if not a word had as yet been said about it. Hence these are probably two independent Messianic fragments. First let us consider verses 1-4. These verses present no difficulty except in the case of $1^{bd}$ which is omitted by A, but which in $\alpha\beta S^1$ represents the Messiah as arising from Judah. Now verses 5, 6, which certainly teach the descent of the Messiah from Judah, imply, as we have already remarked, that the Messiah had not been spoken of in the preceding verses. Hence, if they belong to the original, verses 1-3 cannot. But, as the original Testaments speak only of a Theophany (see T. Ash. vii. 3), or a Messiah from Levi, we conclude that verses 5, 6, were added probably by the same interpolator, to whom we owe xxi. 6–xxiii. Next let us consider 1-3. These verses may constitute an independent fragment about the Messiah from Judah (so ver. $1^b$ in $\alpha\beta S^1$), or the words "from my seed" may be an interpolation, and the verses refer to the Messiah from Levi as in T. Lev. xviii. and elsewhere. The latter supposition is, I think, right, for verses 1-3 agree so closely in diction and matter with the great hymn in honour of John Hyrcanus in T. Lev. xviii. that both hymns appear to be from the same hand and to refer to John Hyrcanus. Thus ver. 2 refers to the Bath Qol vouchsafed to that prophetic and ruling priest; cf. T. Lev. xviii. 6. With ver. $1^a$ cf. T. Lev. xviii. $3^a$; with $1^b$ cf. xviii. $4^a$; with $1^c$ cf. xviii. $9^a$; with $3^a$ cf. xviii. $8^a$.

Finally ver. 4 may have been added by the interpolator of verses 5, 6, but more probably it arose as a marginal gloss.

1. *Shall a star arise . . . from Jacob* (ἀνατελεῖ ἄστρον . . . ἐξ Ἰακώβ). From Num. xxiv. 17. Cf. T. Lev. xviii. 3.

*In peace* (ἐν εἰρήνῃ). In T. Lev. xviii. 3 we have ἐν οὐρανῷ. Is our text corrupt?

*And a man shall rise* (καὶ ἀναστήσεται ἄνθρωπος). From the peculiar text of the LXX, cf. Num. xxiv. 17 where the Hebrew has "And a *sceptre* (שבט) shall rise." Here the Targ. Onk. has "Messiah," the Ps.-Jon. "Messiah and sceptre," and Targ. Jer. "Redeemer and ruler." These facts show early divergent interpretations of שבט.

[*From my seed.*] An interpolation from the same hand that added verses 5, 6, or some subsequent scribe.

*Like the sun of righteousness.* From Mal. iv. 2. Cf. T. Lev. xviii. 4, the quotation recurs in T. Zeb. ix. 8.

*Walking with the sons of men.* See T. Iss. vii. 7; T. Dan. v. 13. Cf. 1 En. lxii. 14 "With that Son of Man will they eat and lie down and rise up for ever and ever."

*Meekness and righteousness.* This combination is found in Ps. xlv. 4 (עֲנָוָה־צֶדֶק in LXX πραΰτητος καὶ δικαιοσύνης and similarly the Targum and Vulgate), which was interpreted as a Messianic Psalm by the Targum (cf. ver. 2 "Thy beauty, O King Messiah,

And no sin shall be found
in him.

2. And the heavens shall
be opened unto him,
To pour out the spirit,
(even) the blessing of the
Holy Father;

3. And He shall pour out the
spirit of grace upon you;

And ye shall be unto Him
sons in truth,
And ye shall walk in His

2. And the heavens shall
be opened unto him,
And the blessings of the
Holy Father will be
poured down upon him.

3. And He will pour down
upon us the spirit of
grace.

And ye shall be His true
children by adoption,
And ye shall walk in His

is greater than that of the sons of men)," and also by the later Jews. A Messianic interpretation was also given to it by the LXX; for it renders the title, "A song of loves" as "A song about the Beloved." Another phrase of this Ps. xlv. 2 "Grace is poured," is found in ver. 3. Moreover, this combination of epithets in connection with the Messiah is attested by Zech. ix. 9 "Thy king cometh to thee, righteous (צַדִּיק) and lowly (עָנִי)" — a passage not earlier than the third century B.C. (Nowack and Stade). This conception of the Messiah was still current, therefore, when our author wrote. Again with our text compare also Zeph. ii. 3 "Seek righteousness, seek meekness." Otherwise the quality of meekness is not attributed to the Messiah in Jewish literature between 200 B.C. and 100 A.D. "Meekness" is again mentioned as a characteristic of the Messiah in T. Dan vi. 9, but this passage in its present form seems Christian.

*Righteousness.* According to the Book of Enoch, the Son of Man is "the Righteous One" xxxviii. 2, liii. 6: he possesses righteousness and righteousness dwells with him xlvi. 3, and on the ground of his essential righteousness xlvi. 3, no less than according to God's good pleasure has he been chosen xlix. 4, and he is mighty in all the secrets of righteousness xlix. 2, and the spirit of righteousness was poured upon him lxii. 2. Cf. also Pss. Sol. xvii. 42, xviii. 8.

*No sin shall be found in him.* Cf. Pss. Sol. xvii. 41 where the Messiah is said to be καθαρὸς ἀπὸ ἁμαρτίας. Thus the Messiah stands apart from humanity in this respect; for sin is universal and human nature is corrupt: cf. Gen. vi. 5; 1 Kings viii. 46 ("there is no man that sinneth not"); Ps. cxxx. 3; Job xiv. 4; Prov. xx. 9; Eccles. vii. 20. This quality of sinlessness should belong to the Messiah, since he is essentially righteous and all sin was to pass away under his rule: see note on T. Lev. xviii. 9.

2. This verse is to be explained as referring to the Bath Qol, which was granted to John Hyrcanus. See T. T. Lev. xviii. 6 note.

*And the heavens,* etc. See note on T. Lev. xviii. 6. Cf. 1 En. xi. 1 "I will open the store chambers of blessing which are in the heaven to send them down upon the earth."

*To pour out the spirit, (even) the blessing of the Holy Father.* Cf. Pss. Sol. xvii. 42 ὁ θεὸς κατειργάσατο αὐτὸν δυνατὸν ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ.

3. For "And ye shall be . . . walk." a reads "in truth."

*Shall pour out the spirit of grace.* From Ps. xlv. 4 (?).

*Unto Him sons in truth.* Cf. T. Levi xviii. 8.

commandments first and last.

4. [This Branch of God Most High,
And this Fountain giving life unto all.]

5. Then shall the sceptre of my kingdom shine forth;
And from your root shall arise a stem;

6. And from it shall grow a rod of righteousness to the Gentiles,
To judge and to save all
, that call upon the Lord.

commandments first and last.

4. [Then a branch shall go forth from me.]

5. And the sceptre of my kingdom shall shine forth;
And from your root shall arise a stem;

6. And from it shall grow up the rod of righteousness unto the Gentiles,
To judge and to save all that call upon the Lord.

XXV. And after these things shall Abraham and Isaac and Jacob arise unto life, and I and my brethren shall be chiefs of the tribes ⌜of Israel⌝: Levi first, I the second, Joseph

*First and last.* A common OT. expression. Cf. 1 Chron. xxix. 29, 2 Chron. ix. 29, etc.

4. This verse was possibly added by the interpolator, who inserted verses 5, 6. But more probably it originated as a marginal gloss.

*This Branch.* For this designation of the Messiah, cf. Is. xi. 1; Jer. xxiii. 5, xxxiii. 15. Perhaps we should render "This is the Branch, etc.," on the supposition that the words go back to the Hebrew.

*And this Fountain . . . to all.* So α. β S[1] read "And this Fountain unto life for all flesh." A om. as we see above. Perhaps we should render "This is the fountain, etc.," if we assume a Hebrew original. I have, however, with some hesitation, bracketed this line as an interpolation based on John iv. 14: "The water that I shall give him shall be in him a well of water (πηγὴ ὕδατος) springing up into eternal life." But it is possible that the words are genuine. If "the law of the wise" is a "fountain of life" (מקור חיים, πηγὴ ζωῆς), Prov. xiii. 14, and so also "the fear of the Lord" Prov. xiv. 27, and God himself is called "the fountain of living waters" Jer. ii. 13, xvii. 13, then the expression in our text is not impossible.

5-6. On these verses of the first century B.C., see the note at the beginning of the chapter.

5. *From your root shall arise a stem* (ἀπὸ τῆς ῥίζης ὑμῶν ἀναστήσεται πυθμήν). For πυθμήν α reads corruptly πηγή. The words are based on Is. xi. 1: "And there shall come forth a shoot out of the stock of Jesse, and a branch out of his roots shall bear fruit." Our text differs here from the LXX.

6. *From it shall grow* (α). β A S[1] read "in it shall arise."

*Rod of righteousness* (ῥάβδος δικαιοσύνης). Possibly this phrase is from Ps. xlv. 6 "sceptre of equity."

XXV. The resurrection is to a renewed life on the present earth.

1. *Chiefs of the tribes* (α *d*). *e g* A S read "chiefs of our tribes." I have rendered σκήπτρων here as "tribes."

third, Benjamin fourth, Simeon fifth, Issachar sixth, and so all in order. 2. And the Lord blessed Levi, and the Angel of the Presence, me; the powers of glory, Simeon; the heaven, Reuben; the earth, Issachar; the sea, Zebulun; the mountains, Joseph; the tabernacle, Benjamin; the luminaries, Dan; Eden, Naphtali; the sun, Gad; the moon, Asher.

3. And ye shall be the people of the Lord, and have one tongue;
And there shall be there no spirit of deceit of ⌜Beliar⌝,
For he shall be cast into the fire for ever.

4. And they who have died in grief shall arise ⌜in joy⌝,
⌜And they who were poor for the Lord's sake shall be made rich,⌝
And they who are put to death for the Lord's sake shall awake ⌜to life⌝.

5. And the harts of Jacob shall run ⌜in joyfulness⌝,
And the eagles of Israel shall fly ⌜in gladness⌝;
And all the peoples shall glorify the Lord for ever.

The translator had שבטים before him, which in itself could mean either "tribes" (*φυλῶν*), or "sceptres," but the context requires the former. The same misrendering is found in Dan. i. 9, and in the LXX in 1 Sam. ix. 21; 1 K. viii. 16, etc.

With the above statement we should compare the promise to the Twelve Apostles: Matt. xix. 28 "In the regeneration . . . ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel." Cf. Luke xxii. 30.

*Issachar* ($\beta$ A $S^1$). $\alpha$ reads "Zebulun."

2. *Eden.* The text has here *ἡ τρυφή*, which is a frequent rendering of עֵדֶן, *i.e.* "Eden" in LXX of Gen. ii. 15, iii. 23, 24; Joel ii. 3, etc.

*The moon* ($\alpha\beta$-$ab$). $b$ $S^1$ read "the olive," A "the olives."

3. *Ye shall be the people* ($a$ $A^{efg}$). $bdg$ read "there shall be one people," $ef$ "it shall be the people," $A^{abb^*cd}$ "they shall be the people."

*One tongue.* Since the creative words at the beginning were uttered by God in Hebrew, Ber. rabba c. 18, and the angels understand Hebrew only, Shabb. $12^b$, and God Himself was to teach the law to the blessed in the kingdom, it follows that Hebrew was the one language of the blessed. Hebrew was the original language of men and animals according to Jub. iii. 28 (see note).

*Be there* ($a$). $\beta$ $S^1$ read "be no more," A "be among you."

*Into the fire for ever* ($a\beta$ $S^1$). A read "into eternal judgment."

4. *Made rich.* Here $abef$ $S^1$ add "And they who have been in want shall be filled, And they who have been weak shall be strong." The former clause may have been derived from Matt. v. 6.

5. *Of Jacob* ($abg$ A $S^1$). $adef$ read "Of Joseph."

*And the eagles of Israel shall fly in gladness* ($a\beta$ $S^1$). A reads "And the heifers of Israel shall leap." I cannot explain this divergence. Here $a\beta$ $S^1$

XXVI. Observe, therefore, my children, all the law of the Lord, for there is hope for all them who hold fast unto His ways. 2. And ⌜he said to them: Behold,⌝ I die before your eyes this day, a hundred and nineteen years old. 3. Let no one bury me ⌜in costly apparel⌝, nor tear open my bowels, ⌜for this shall they who are kings do;⌝ and carry me up to Hebron with you. 4. And Judah, when he had said these things, fell asleep; and his sons did according to all whatsoever he commanded them, and they buried him in Hebron with his fathers.

add "But the ungodly shall lament and the sinners shall weep," which is against the parallelism and omitted by A.

XXVI. 1. *Hold fast His ways* (*κατέχουσιν* (שומרים) *τοὺς ὁδοὺς αὐτοῦ*, α). β S$^1$ read "direct (*κατευθύνουσιν* = מישרים) his ways," but the singular suffix makes this text impossible. A = "walk aright according to Him."

2. *Behold* (α). β A S$^1$ om.

*Before your eyes* (β A S$^1$). α om.

*A hundred and nineteen years* (β A S$^1$). α corruptly reads "eighteen" for "nineteen." See note on xii. 12.

3. Text follows β A S$^1$. α reads "let no one bury me in costly apparel, but carry me up to Hebron where are my fathers also."

4. Text follows α β S$^1$ save that α omits "Judah." A$^b$ reads "And Judah slept with his fathers and they did as he had commanded them." The other MSS of A invert the order of these two sentences.

# THE TESTAMENT OF ISSACHAR, THE FIFTH SON OF JACOB AND LEAH

I. The copy of the words of Issachar. For he called his sons and said to them:

Hearken, my children, to Issachar your father;
Give ear to the words of him who is beloved of the Lord.

2. I was born the ⌜fifth son to Jacob⌝, by way of hire for the mandrakes. 3. For Reuben ⌜my brother⌝ brought in mandrakes from the field, and Rachel met him and took them. 4. And Reuben wept, and at his voice Leah my mother came forth. 5. Now these (mandrakes) were ⌜sweet-smelling⌝ apples which were produced in the land of Haran below a ravine of water. 6. And Rachel said: I will not give them to thee, but they shall be to me instead of children. ⌜For the Lord hath despised me, and I have not

Title. $\alpha$ in text. $bef S^1$ read "Testament of Issachar concerning Simplicity" (*e* "goodness"), *g*, "Testament of Issachar, the fifth," *a* "Issachar"; *d* is conflate, "Testament of Issachar, the fifth son of Jacob and Leah concerning simplicity," $A^{abcdef}$ "Testament of Issachar" (+"the son of Jacob" $A^{c}$).

I. 1. *For . . . said unto them* ($\alpha\,\beta$-*d* $S^1$ save that $\beta\,S^1$ om. "for"). *d* adds "before he died." $A^{a}$="and he said," $A^{b}$ "And Issachar said unto his sons when about to die," $A^{b*d}$ "when about to die he called his sons and said."

*The words of him who is beloved* (*c i a e f* A). *h d* $S^1$ read "the words beloved," *b g* "(my) words, ye beloved."

2-14. An expanded form of Gen. xxx. 14-18.

2. *By way of hire for the mandrakes.* See Gen. xxx. 15.

3. *My brother* ($\alpha$). $\beta$ A $S^1$ om.

*And Rachel . . . took them.* Cf. Gen. xxx. 15.

4. *My mother* ($\alpha\,\beta$-*d* $S^1$). $A^{abcf}$ read "his mother."

5. *Which were produced in the land of Haran* ($\alpha$ save that *hi* read "Canaan"). $\beta\,S^1$ read "which the land of Aram produced on a height," A "and they were produced in the wood in Aram."

6. *But* ($\alpha$ A). $\beta$ "for."

*For the Lord . . . to Jacob* ($\alpha$). $\beta$ A $S^1$ om.

borne children to Jacob.] 7. Now there were two apples; and Leah said [to Rachel]: Let it suffice thee that thou hast taken my husband: wilt thou take these also? 8. And Rachel said [to her]: Thou shalt have Jacob this night for the mandrakes [of thy son]. 9. And Leah said to her: Jacob is mine, for I am the wife of his youth. 10. But Rachel said: Boast not, and vaunt not thyself; for he espoused me before thee, and for my sake he served our father fourteen years.

| α | βAS |
|---|---|
| 11. And had not craft increased on the earth and the wickedness of men prospered, thou wouldest not now see the face of Jacob. | 11. What shall I do to thee? for the craft and the subtlety of men are increased, and craft prospereth on the earth —if it were not so, thou wouldst not now see the face of Jacob. |

12. For thou art not his wife, but in craft wert taken to him in my stead. 13. And my father deceived me, [and removed me on that night,] and did not suffer [Jacob to see me; for] had I been there, this had not happened [to him]. 14. Nevertheless, for the mandrakes I am hiring

7. *To Rachel* (α). βAS$^1$ om.
*My husband* (α β-*b d* S$^1$). *b d* A read "the husband of my virginity."
8. *And Rachel* (α *d*). β-*d* AS$^1$ read "and she."
*To her* (α). βAS$^1$ om.
9. *Jacob is mine; for I* (α). βAS$^1$ read "Boast not nor vaunt thyself; for Jacob is mine and I." But βAS$^1$ are clearly wrong here as these words belong rightly to ver. 10.
10. *Boast not . . . nor vaunt thyself* (α). βAS$^1$ read "How so?"
11. A agrees in the main with β "what shall I do unto thee; for thy craft has increased on the earth: hadst thou walked in the truth, thou wouldst not, etc." Here A has lost part of β through hmt. S$^1$ agrees with β "save that for craft prospered . . . thou wouldst not," it reads "had not craft prospered . . . thou wouldst not." This is a manifest improvement, but α gives the original text and that of β has arisen from it by a dittography.
13. *Jacob* (α). βAS$^1$ om.
*To him* (α). β-*d* AS$^1$ omit. *d* reads "to thee."
14. Text follows α. β-*d g* S$^1$ read "And Rachel said: Take one mandrake and for the other I am hiring him (β-*b* om.) to thee for one night," A$^{ab}$ "Take, said she (A$^b$ om. "said she"), one mandrake and for the other I will hire Jacob to thee for a ('this' A$^b$) night." The text of βAS$^1$ speaks of the second mandrake in ii. 4; for according to ii. 2 Leah gave Rachel both the mandrakes. Mention is made of this second mandrake in an addition of [*d* after verse 15: "And again in the morning Leah sent the second mandrake also,

Jacob to thee for one night. 15. And Jacob knew Leah, and she ⌜conceived and⌝ bare me, and on account of the hire I was called Issachar.

II. Then appeared to Jacob an angel of the Lord, saying: Two children shall Rachel bear, inasmuch as she hath refused company with her husband, and hath chosen continency. 2. And had not Leah my mother paid the two apples for the sake of his company, she would have borne eight sons; for this reason she bare six, and Rachel bare the two: for on account of the mandrakes the Lord visited her. 3. For He knew that for the sake of children she wished to company with Jacob, and not for lust of pleasure. 4. For on the morrow also she again gave up Jacob. Because of the mandrakes, therefore, the Lord hearkened to Rachel. 5. For though she desired them, she eat them not, but offered them in the house of the Lord, presenting them to the priest of the Most High who was at that time.

III. When, therefore, I grew up, my children, I walked

saying to Rachel: Take this and I hire him for this night also. And Rachel took the two apples and she gave Jacob for another night also."

*On account . . . Issachar.* Observe the paronomasia in the Hebrew: משכר נקראתי יששכר.

*The hire* ($\beta$ A $S^1$). $\alpha$ reads "this hire."

II. 1. *Two* ($b$ $A^{ab*cd}$ $S^1$). $\alpha$ $a$ $e$ $f$ om. $d$ omits the clause and $g$ the entire chapter.

3. *Jacob* ($\alpha$ $\beta$ $A^b$ $S^1$). $A^{ab*cdf}$ read "her husband."

4. *For on the morrow . . . Jacob* ($\alpha$ $\beta$-$d$ $g$ $S^1$). $A^{ab*cdf}$ read "And on the morrow she again demanded Jacob." $\beta$-$d$ $g$ $A^{ab*cdf}$ $S^1$ add "in order that she might receive the other ($A^{ab*cdf}$ "still another") mandrake."

*Because of his mandrakes, therefore.* For "therefore" (οὖν $a$ $e$ $f$), $\alpha$ reads "also" (καί).

5. *Priest of the Most High* ($\beta$ $A^{ab*cdf}$ $S^1$). $\alpha$ reads "priest," $A^b$ "priest of the Most High God."

III.–VI. The main characteristics that are assigned to Issachar in these chapters do not agree with those which are brought forward in subsequent rabbinic literature. Thus Issachar is represented in our text as the single-hearted husbandman iii. 1, v. 3, 5, who scorns all luxuries and covets not gold iv. 2, who is free from envy and malice and greed iii. 3, iv. 5, who shuns lust and looks forth on life with a single eye iv. 4, 6, who loves God and his neighbour, who offers his firstfruits through the priest to God, and gives of the residue to his father iii. 6 and to the poor and weak v. 2, who spends his entire energies on tillage and husbandry iii. 5, v. 3. Husbandry, Issachar holds, was the true calling of his sons. When they become faithless, they would forsake husbandry vi. 2, and singleness of heart, and become greedy, guileful and malicious vi. 1-2. Issachar, therefore, as the single-hearted husbandman with the primitive virtues associated with this calling, is the beau-ideal of the writer. This view harmonises in one respect

in uprightness of heart, and I became a husbandman for my father and my brethren, and I brought in fruits from

with the peculiar translation given in the LXX of Gen. xlix. 15 *ἐγενήθη ἀνὴρ γεωργός* (see note on iii. 1).

If, however, we turn to later literature we find quite a different view of Issachar and of his sons. Issachar and his descendants were said to be in the main students of the law. Thus the Targ. Ps.-Jon. and the Jerusalem Targ. on Gen. xlix. 15 change the words "he bowed his shoulder to bear and became a servant under taskwork" into "he bowed his shoulder to labour in the law and his brothers will bring gifts unto him." This interpretation has been traced back to the influence of 1 Chron. xii. 32, where it is said of the men of Issachar that they "had understanding of the times to know what Israel ought to do." Further references to the devotion of the tribe of Issachar to the Law will be found in *Jewish Encyc.* vi. 676, 677.

III. 1. *Uprightness of heart* (*εὐθύτητι καρδίας*). This phrase recurs in T. Gad vii. 7, and also in T. Iss. iv. 6 in *a* where *β* A $S^1$ have simply *ἁπλότητι*. Moreover *εὐθύτητι* is found in *g* T. Iss. iii. 2, where all the other authorities have *ἁπλότητι*. Finally *β* has *εὐθύτητι ψυχῆς* where *a* has *ἁπλότητι ψυχῆς* in T. Iss. iv. 6. Elsewhere we find *ἁπλοῦς* T. Iss. iv. 2, *ἁπλότης* T. Iss. iii. 2 (*a β-g*), 6, 7, iv. 6 (*β* S), *ἁπλότης καρδίας*, T. Reub. iv. 1; T. Iss. iii. 8, iv. 1, *ἁπλότης ψυχῆς* T. Iss. iv. 1, *ἁπλότης ὀφθαλμῶν* T. Iss. iii. 4 (*β-g* $S^1$). See notes on iii. 8.

We have now recognised that *ἁπλότης* and phrases embodying it are much more frequently used than *εὐθύτης* and its phrases, and also that in a few cases where *εὐθύτης* appears in one recension, *ἁπλότης* takes its place in the other. The question now arises: do both these words go back to the same Hebrew original? The text of iv. 6 shows that this is not so. A study of the problem leads to the belief that they represent respectively יָשָׁר and תֹּם. First then *εὐθύτης* goes back to יָשָׁר or יֹשֶׁר or some derivative of this word, since it does so all but universally in the LXX. Similarly *εὐθύς* is the normal rendering of יָשָׁר, or some of their derivatives. Hence we conclude that *εὐθύτης καρδίας* = לֵבָב (יֹשֶׁר) יָשָׁר, as it actually is in 1 K. iii. 6; Ps. cxix. 7 of the LXX. Cf. *εὐθεῖς τῇ καρδίᾳ* as a rendering of לב ישרי in Pss. vii. 11, xi. 2, xxxii. 11, xxxvi. 11, lxiv. 11, xciv. 15, xcvii. 11. On the other hand the Hebrew phrase יָשָׁר לבב which is found in Deut. ix. 5; Job xxxiii. 3; 1 Chron. xxix. 17, is rendered as follows: in Deut. ix. 5, by *ὁσιότης καρδίας*; in Job xxxiii. 3, by *καθαρὰ ἡ καρδία*, and in 1 Chron. xxix. 17, by *ἁπλότης καρδίας*. Notwithstanding these exceptions the above evidence points to ישר לבב as the original of *εὐθύτης καρδίας*.

Next as to the phrase *ἁπλότης καρδίας*. This phrase we take to be a rendering of תֹּם לֵבָב, Symmachus' rendering in Gen. xx. 5, 6; and his and Aquila's in Ps. lxxviii. 72. This phrase is found in Gen. xx. 5, 6; 1 K. ix. 4; Ps. lxxviii. 72, ci. 2, in which passages the LXX renders as follows: Gen. xx. 5, 6 *καθαρᾷ καρδίᾳ*; 1 K. ix. 6 *ὁσιότητι καρδίας*; Pss. lxxviii. 72, ci. 2 *ἀκακίᾳ καρδίας*. The LXX has thus no settled rendering for תם in this phrase, nor for תֹּם or תֹּם alone or in other combinations, since it reproduces them by the following words or their derivatives, *ὅσιος*, *καθαρός*, *ἀληθής*, *τέλειος*, *ἀθῷος*, *ἄκακος*, *ἄμεμπτος*, *ἄμωμος*, *ἀναίτιος*, *ἅπλαστος*, *ἁπλοσύνη*, *ἁπλότης*, *ἁπλῶς*. In the next place we observe that *ἁπλότης* occurs only twice in the canonical books of the LXX, but five times in its non-canonical books. This tends to show that *ἁπλότης*—a rather late Greek word—was gradually coming into use among the Jews. If we turn to Aquila's version (117-138 A.D.) this view is confirmed, for *ἁπλότης* occurs frequently as a rendering of תם. Cf. Gen. xx. 5, 6; Job iv. 6, xxi. 23; Ps. vii. 9, xxvi. 1, 11, xli. 13; Prov. x. 9, xxviii. 6. Now our book was translated into Greek at some date between the completion of the LXX and 50 A.D., and reflects, as we might expect, the growing popularity of the word *ἁπλότης*.

the field according to their season. 2. ⌜And my father blessed me, for he saw that I walked in rectitude before him.⌝ 3. And I was not a busybody in my doings, ⌜nor envious and malicious against my neighbour. 4. I never slandered any one, nor did I censure the life of any man, walking as I did in singleness of eye⌝. 5. Therefore, when I was thirty-⌜five⌝ years old, I took to myself a wife, for my labour wore away my strength, and I never thought

We are now in a position to draw our conclusions. Our text contains two phrases resembling each other but different, *εὐθύτης καρδίας* and *ἁπλότης καρδίας*. From these we reasonably conclude to a difference in the Hebrew original of the Testaments, and that the Hebrew phrases in question were respectively ישר לבב and תם לבב, which as we have already seen occur several times in the OT. The general usage of the LXX in translating ישר and its derivatives puts the equipollence of *εὐθύτης καρδίας* and לבב ישר beyond reasonable doubt. As regards the second expression the LXX did not arrive at any generally acknowledged equivalent. It may have been the Greek version of the Testaments that first won general acceptance for the rendition of תם לבב by *ἁπλότης καρδίας*.

*I became a husbandman.* Here our text resorts to the same evasion as the LXX (*καὶ ἐγενήθη ἀνὴρ γεωργός*) in rendering Gen. xlix. 15 וַיְהִי לְמַס־עֹבֵד = "And he became a servant under task-work." The three Targums likewise change the meaning wholly in order to do away with this reproach.

*My father* (*a d* A). *β-d* $S^1$ read "my parents." A adds "Jacob."

*According to their season* (*β-a f* A $S^1$). *a a f* om.

2. A om.

*Before him* (*a*). *β* $S^1$ om.

*Rectitude* (*ἁπλότητι*). In the note on ver. 1 we have taken this word to be a translation of תם. The many words by which the LXX renders this word show how comprehensive is its meaning. It connotes wholeness, integrity. There is no full equivalent for it in English. I sometimes render "rectitude" as nearest to the Hebrew: and occasionally "singleness" as nearest to the Greek. It is to be regarded as a symbol of the real meaning rather than as a translation. The man of rectitude (*ἁπλοῦς*) walks in singleness of eye iii. 4, he shuns the eye made evil through the error of the world, lest he should take as commandments of God some perverted forms of them. Walking in singleness of soul he looks on all things with uprightness of heart iv. 4; he is free from envy and malice iii. 3, iv. 5, he does not slander his neighbour iv. 5, iii. 4. He is not covetous and does not try to overreach his neighbour iv. 2, 5. His heart is not set on gain iv. 5, and so he gives freely to those in need iii. 8, vii. 5. He is not given to sensual thoughts or desires iii. 5, iv. 4. In fact *ἁπλότης καρδίας* contains everything that is well-pleasing to God—so iv. 1 (*b d g* A). St. Paul uses the phrase in its large meaning in Eph. vi. 5; Col. iii. 32, and most probably in Rom. xii. 8; 2 Cor. xi. 3; but in its more limited meaning of "liberality" in 2 Cor. ix. 11, 13, and probably also viii. 2. See note on iv. 6 "eyes evil." Thus *ἁπλότης* underwent a similar declension in meaning to *δικαιοσύνη* (=*ἐλεημοσύνη*), the Jewish virtue, and *caritas*, the Christian "charity."

3. *Busybody* (*περίεργος*). Cf. 1 Tim. v. 13.

4. ⌜*Walking as I did in singleness of eye*⌝ (*ἁπλότητι τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν*, *β* $S^1$). *α* om. St. Matt. vi. 22 (Luke xi. 34) seems an echo of our text *ἐὰν οὖν ὁ ὀφθαλμός σου ἁπλοῦς*. This will become clearer when we come to iv. 6 (see note).

5. *Therefore* (*β* A $S^1$). *α* om.

*Five* (*a a e f* $S^1$). *b d g* A om.

upon pleasure with women; ⌜but owing to my toil, sleep overcame me. 6. And my father ⌜always⌝ rejoiced in my rectitude, ⌜because I offered through the priest to the Lord all first-fruits; then to my father also. 7. And the Lord increased ten thousandfold His benefits in my hands; and also Jacob, my father, knew that God aided my singleness. 8. For on all the poor and oppressed I bestowed the good things of the earth in the singleness of my heart⌝.

IV. And now, hearken to me, my children,
And walk in singleness ⌜of your heart⌝,
For I have seen in it ⌜all⌝ that is well-pleasing to the Lord.
2. ⌜The single-(minded) man coveteth not gold,
He overreacheth not his neighbour,

6. Text follows *a*. $\beta$ $S^1$ read "And my father always rejoiced in my rectitude. For on whatsoever I laboured I offered first of all through the priest to the Lord all the choicest fruit (*πᾶσαν ὀπώραν* = מנר ?) and all the first fruits, then to my father also, and then I (+"shared them" *d*, + "enjoyed" *g*)."

7. *Ten thousandfold* (*a*). $\beta$ $S^1$ read "twofold."

*My father* (*a*). ($\beta$ $S^1$ om.)

8. Text follows *hi*. *c* reads "for everything on the poor and oppressed I bestowed of the good things, etc." *b g* $S^1$ "for on all the poor and all the oppressed, etc."

*Bestowed . . . in singleness of heart* (*παρεῖχον . . . ἐν ἁπλότητι καρδίας*). This phrase is practically reproduced in Rom. xii. 8 *ὁ μεταδιδοὺς ἐν ἁπλότητι*. We might compare vii. 5 "I shared my bread with the poor." This conjunction of the ideas of giving alms and of doing so with soundness of heart is peculiar to our text and St. Paul in Jewish and Christian literature before 60 A.D. In Issachar's almsgiving, according to our text, there was singleness of purpose, and no mixed motives such as display or ostentation. Hence this singleness of aim, untrammelled by side issues, acted with entire unselfishness, and, when special claims were brought home to it, drew to itself the character of generosity and liberality. This development, which is already suggested in our text, is realised in 2 Cor. ix. 13 *ἁπλότητι τῆς κοινωνίας εἰς αὐτούς* "the liberality of your contribution unto them"; and in viii. 2, ix. 11. This meaning may be found also in Joseph. *Ant.* vii. 13. 4.

*Singleness of my heart* (*ἁπλότητι καρδίας*). This phrase, if we are right in our conclusions in the note on iii. 1, became a stereotyped rendering of תם לבב through the influence of the Greek version of the Testaments. It occurs frequently in our text (see note on iii. 1), but only twice in the LXX (1 Chron. xxix. 17; Wisd. i. 1). St. Paul has used it twice with its original force: Eph. vi. 5; Col. iii. 22. The use of *ἁπλότης* is confined to St. Paul in the NT.

*Of my heart* (*a d g*). *β-d g* $S^1$ read "of heart."

IV. 1. *Of your heart* (*c g*). *b* $S^1$ read "of heart"; *h i a e f* read "of your soul."

*In it* (*b d g* A). *a a e f* $S^1$ read "in you."

2. *The single (minded) man* (*ὁ ἁπλοῦς*), *i.e.* the man of rectitude (תם).

*Coveteth . . . neighbour* (*b d e g* $S^1$). *a a f* read "gaineth not gold wrongfully" (?) (*χρυσίον οὐ πλεονεκτεῖ*). This construction with the accusative is difficult. Otherwise the text of *a a f* seems preferable. The reference to one's neighbour in *b d e g* $S^1$ seems alien to the context.

He longeth not after manifold dainties,
He delighteth not in varied apparel.
3. He doth not desire to live a long life,
But only waiteth for the will of God.⌉
4. And the spirits of deceit have no power against him,
For he looketh not on the beauty of women,
⌈Lest he should pollute his mind with corruption⌉.
5. There is no envy in his thoughts,
[No malicious person maketh his soul to pine away,]
Nor worry with insatiable desire in his mind.
6. For he walketh in singleness ⌈of soul⌉,
And beholdeth all things in uprightness ⌈of heart⌉,
Shunning eyes (made) evil through the error of the world,

3. *Doth not . . . to live.* The text reads *οὐκ ἐπιγράφει* (*β-g ὑπογράφει*) *τοῦ ζῆν*, S[1] *ζητεῖ ζῆν*. *ἐπιγράφει* = מְחַמֵּד "represents in his imagination," but the word may be corrupt for מְחַמֵּד = "desires." Hence "doth not desire to live."

4. If the last line of this verse is genuine it shows that the second line cannot speak of anything more than the refusal to look on a woman's beauty. For if the look was accompanied with lustful desires it would be idle to add "lest he should pollute," etc. Hence the second line *οὐ γὰρ εἶδεν ἐπιδέξασθαι* (*f g* A *ἐπιλέξασθαι*, S[1] om.) *κάλλος θηλείας* is very difficult. What is to be made of *ἐπιδέξασθαι* or *ἐπιλέξασθαι*? It would be easiest of all to omit it with S[1]. The line thus relieved of this word would harmonise perfectly with the context and also with rabbinic teachings as to the duty of a good man to shun looking on a woman; see note on T. Reub. iv. 1. This course we have followed in our translation. But how then are we to explain the addition. Possibly it may have arisen through a dittography. Thus *ἐπιλέξασθαι* (of which we should in that case regard *ἐπιδέξασθαι* as a corruption) *κάλλος γυναικός* = בחר בתן אשה, where בָּחַר is merely a dittography of בֶּתֶן.

*Looketh on the beauty of a woman.* See note on T. Reub. iv. 1 with the quotations from the Talmud which speak of "looking on a beautiful woman" (יסתכל באשה נאה). Nedar. 20[a] says, "whoever looks on a woman will in the end commit sin."

5. *There is no envy in his thoughts* (*α*). *β* S read "no envy can invade (*ἐπελεύσεται*) his thoughts," A "and there was no envy in my thoughts."

[*No malicious person*, etc.] Bracketed as an interpolation, since A om. and the parallelism is against it. But the line might stand if we read *βασκανία* with *b d g* S instead of *βάσκανος* (*a a e f*). "Malice maketh not his soul to pine away."

*Nor worry . . . his mind.* *α β* S[1] read *οὐδὲ περισπασμὸν* (*πορισμὸν b*) *ἐν ἁπλησταίᾳ ἐννοεῖ* which I have emended to *οὐδὲ περισπασμὸς ἐν ἁπλ. ἐν νοΐ*. The verb "invade" (*ἐπελεύσεται*) is to be understood from line 1, if in line 5[a] we accept the reading of *β* S.

6. *Singleness* ⌈*of soul*⌉ (*α* A). A reads "singleness," *β* S "uprightness of soul."

*Uprightness* ⌈*of heart*⌉ (*α* A). *β* S "singleness."

*Eyes evil* (*ὀφθαλμοὺς πονηρούς α β-b g* S[2]). *b g* S[1] read "with eyes of evil" (*ὀφθαλμοῖς πονηρίας*). Cf. Prov. xxiii. 6 (רע עין), xxviii. 22. If we take this passage in connection with vi. 4, "in singleness of eye," we are forcibly reminded of Matt. vi. 22, 23 *ἐὰν οὖν ἡ ὁ ὀφθαλμός σου ἁπλοῦς . . . ἐὰν δὲ*

Lest he should see the perversion of any of the commandments of the Lord.

V. Keep, therefore, my children, the law of God,
And get singleness,
⌜And walk in guilelessness,
Not playing the busybody with the business of your neighbour.

2. But love the Lord and your neighbour,
Have compassion on the poor and weak.⌝

3. Bow down your back unto husbandry,
And toil in labours ⌜in all manner of husbandry,
Offering gifts to the Lord with thanksgiving⌝.

4. For with the first-fruits of the earth will the Lord bless you, ⌜even as He blessed all the saints from Abel even until now⌝. 5. For no other portion is given to you ⌜than of the fatness of the earth, whose fruits are raised by toil⌝. 6. For our father Jacob blessed me with blessings ⌜of the earth and of first-fruits. 7. And Levi and Judah were glorified by the Lord even among the sons of Jacob; for the Lord gave them an inheritance, and to Levi He gave the priesthood, and to Judah the kingdom. 8. And do ye

*ὁ ὀφθαλμός σου πονηρὸς ᾖ*. This coincidence can hardly be accidental. We find the phrase *πονηρία ὀφθαλμῶν* in Plat. *Hip. Min.* 374 D. Both here and in Matt. vi. 22, 23 the meaning of *πονηρός* is that of ethical unsoundness. But the phrase *ὀφθαλμὸς πονηρός* does not always bear this full meaning. It underwent degeneration. Thus in Deut. xv. 9; Prov. xxiii. 6, xxviii. 22; Sir. xxxiv. 13; Matt. xx. 15; Mark vii. 22 (?) it means "an envious" or "a grudging eye." The Hebrew is עין רע. The opposite is to be found in the man of generous eye (טוב עין), Prov. xxii. 9. This phrase would probably have been rendered in Greek by *ὀφθαλμὸς ἀγαθός* (cf. Matt. xx. 15).

V. 1. *Play the busybody with.* $\beta S^1$ add "the commands of God and."

3. *Bow your back unto husbandry.* Based on Gen. xlix. 15, ויט שכמו לסבל.

*Labours* ($\alpha$). $\beta$ A $S^1$ add "of the earth."

4. *Will . . . bless you* ($h\,d\,g$). $c$ read "will . . . bless"; $a\,e\,f$ "will . . . bless thee"; $b\,S^1$ "did . . . bless me"; A = *εὐλογηθήσεται*.

5. *To you* ($g$ A). $\beta$-$a\,g\,S^1$ read "to thee," $a$ "to us." $\alpha$ om.

6. *Our* ($\beta$-$d$ A $S^1$). $a\,d$ read "my."

*Whose fruits are raised through toil* ($b\,g\,S^1$). $a\,a\,e\,f$ read "through the toils of fruits" (*ἐν πόνοις καρπῶν*). $d$ om.

6-7. A is defective and confused. "Wherefore our father also in our blessings gave as an inheritance to Levi the first place, and Judah was glorified among the sons of Jacob."

*Gave them an inheritance* ($a\,d$ *ἐκληροδότησεν αὐτούς*). $\beta$-$d\,S^1$ read *ἐκλήρωσεν ἐν αὐτοῖς* "allotted to them (?)." Both are renderings of הנחיל להם.

therefore obey them, and walk in the singleness of your father; [for unto Gad hath it been given to destroy the troops that are coming upon Israel].

VI. Know ye, therefore, my children, that in the last times

Your sons will forsake singleness,
⌜And will cleave unto insatiable desire;
And⌝ leaving ⌜guilelessness, will draw near to malice;
And forsaking the commandments of the Lord,
They will cleave unto Beliar.

2. And leaving⌝ husbandry,
They will follow after their own ⌜wicked⌝ devices,
And they shall be dispersed among the Gentiles,
And shall serve their enemies.

3. And do you therefore give these commands to your children, that, if they sin, they may the more quickly return to the Lord; 4. For He is merciful, and will deliver them, even to bring them back into their land.

*To Levi . . . to Judah* (*c*). *h* β read "to the one . . . to the other."

8. *Therefore* (*a b g* $S^1$). β-*b g* A om.

*Singleness.* *c* adds "of your heart."

*For* (β A $S^1$). *a* reads "and."

*For . . . Israel* (ὅτι καὶ τῷ Γάδ ἐδόθη ἀπολέσαι τὰ πειρατήρια τὰ ἐπερχόμενα τῷ Ἰσραήλ). This clause is here out of place. It belonged probably to the Testament of Gad originally, and occurred just after some such phrase as "And she called his name Gad" (cf. T. Sim. ii. 2; T. Judah i. 3; T. Iss. i. 15; T. Naph. i. 6, etc.); for in this clause there is a play on the name Gad. Thus τῷ Γὰδ . . . τὰ πειρατήρια=. . . לגד הגרורים. Cf. Gen. xlix. 19.

VI. 1. *Know ye therefore* (*a*). *b d g* A read "I know"; *a e f* $S^1$ "ye know."

*In the last times* (ἐν ἐσχάτοις καιροῖς) =באחרית הימים. In. T. Levi x. 2 we have ἐπὶ τῆ συντελείᾳ τῶν αἰώνων: T. Levi xiv. 1, T. Gad viii. 2 ἐπὶ τέλει (β A S); in T. Zeb. ix. 5 (*b d g*), T. Dan. v. 4. T. Jos. xix. 10 (*c* β $S^1$) ἐν ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις: in T. Zeb. viii. 2, ἐπ' ἐσχάτων ἡμερῶν: T. Zeb. ix. 9 ἕως καιροῦ συντελείας. These phrases denote the close of the present age from the standpoint of the writer. In the OT. it occurs not infrequently, and is always to be interpreted from the standpoint of the individual writer. Thus in Gen. xlix. 1 it refers to the period of Israel's occupation of Canaan, Num. xxiv. 14 of their mastery of Edom and Moab, Deut. xxxi. 29, iv. 30 of their apostasy and repentance, Ezek. xxxviii. 16 of Gog's attack on Israel, Dan. x. 14 of the age of Antiochus. See Driver on Dan. ii. 28.

*Singleness.* Here ἁπλότης is opposed to ἀπληστία, hence it has partly the character of liberality.

2. *Dispersed.* Cf. T. Levi xvi. 5; T. Asher vii. 2, 6; T. Jos. xix. 2.

*Serve your enemies.* Cf. T. Jud. xxiii. 3; T. Naph. iv. 2.

3. *To bring them back.* Cf. T. Dan v. 9; T. Ash. vii. 7.

α

VII. Behold, therefore, as ye see, I am a hundred and twenty-six years old and am not conscious of committing any sin.

βAS[1]

I am a hundred and twenty-two years old, and I am not conscious of having committed any sin ⌜unto death.

2. Except my wife I have not known any woman⌝. I never committed fornication by the uplifting of my ⌜eyes⌝.

3. I drank not wine, to be led astray thereby;
I coveted not any desirable thing that was my neighbour's.

4. Guile arose not in my heart;
A lie passed not through my lips.

5. If any man were in distress I joined my sighs with his,
And I shared my bread with the poor.
I wrought godliness, all my days I kept truth.

α

6. I loved the Lord;
Likewise also every man with all my heart.

βS[1]

⌜The Lord I loved with all my strength:
Likewise also every man I loved more than my own children.

VII. The number of years in βAS[1] is supported by the Midrash Tadshe viii. (Eppstein's edition).

*Am not conscious of committing any sin* (οὐκ ἔγνων ἐν ἐμοὶ ἁμαρτίαν). Cf. 1 Cor. iv. 4 οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐμαυτῷ σύνοιδα. The words that follow here in St. Paul might be regarded as a criticism on Issachar's self-complacency: ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν τούτῳ δεδικαίωμαι. Cf. T. Zeb. i. 4.

*Sin unto death.* Cf. Num. xviii. 22; Jub. xxi. 22, xxxiii. 18; 1 John v. 16. α omits "unto death."

2. α is here defective. It reads "woman except my wife."

*By the uplifting of my eyes* (ἐν μετεωρισμῷ ὀφθαλμῶν μου). This phrase recurs in T. Benj. vi. 3. μετεωρισμός here denotes a lustful movement of the eyes. This is seen clearly in Sir. xxvi. 9 πορνεία γυναικὸς ἐν μετεωρισμοῖς ὀφθαλμῶν, καὶ ἐν τοῖς βλεφάροις αὐτῆς γνωσθήσεται. In xxiii. 4 Sirach prays: μετεωρισμὸν ὀφθαλμῶν μὴ δῷς μοι, καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν ἀπόστρεψον ἀπ' ἐμοῦ. Cf. Prov. vi. 25.

4. This couplet appears in A as: "and guile arose not through my lips, and I lied not to my neighbour."

5. Cf. Sir. vii. 34; Rom. xii. 15 κλαίειν μετὰ κλαιόντων.

*Shared my bread, etc.* Cf. Prov. xxii. 9.

*With the poor.* β S[1] add "I never eat alone, I moved no landmark."

*Kept truth* (α). β-b e S[1] read "did truth," A "and I walked in holiness." c adds "I loved godliness."

6. *I loved . . . strength* (α save that c omits "likewise" and *h i* read "strength" for "heart").

7. So do ye also these things, my children,
And every spirit of Beliar shall flee from you,
And no deed of wicked men shall rule over you;
And every wild beast shall ye subdue,
Since you have with you the God of heaven and earth
(And) walk with men in singleness of heart.]

8. And having said these things, he commanded his sons that they should carry him up to Hebron, and bury him there in the cave [with his fathers]. 9. And he stretched out his feet and died, the fifth son of Jacob, at a good old age; with every limb sound, and with strength unabated, he slept the eternal sleep.

7. *And earth* (α). β $S^1$ omit.

(*And*) *walk with men in singleness of heart* (*h i e f*)—συμπορευόμενοι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐν ἁπλότητι καρδίας. But *h i* add αὐτοῦ after καρδίας. *c* reads "walking (συμπορευόμενον) with men in the singleness of His heart," β-*e f* "walking with men of (or "in") singleness of heart." The term "walking" is used of God with reference to Israel in Deut. xxiii. 14; Lev. xxvi. 12; 2 Sam. vii. 6, 7; 1 Chron. xvii. 6. Next ἀνθρώποις ἐν ἁπλ. καρδίας may be rendered "men of singleness of heart," as similar phrases in Pss. Sol. iv. 11, vi. 7, viii. 20, ix. 12, x. 5, xvi. 3 (see Ryle and James *in loc.*). On the other hand a parallel passage to our text in T. Jud. xxiv. 1 refers to the Messiah. The text of *c* requires this reference. If *c* is right, the line is interpolated. The text is therefore doubtful. See also T. Dan v. 13.

8. *Having said . . . his sons* (α). β-*d* $A^{a\,c\,f\,g}$ $S^1$ read "and he commanded them."

*In the cave* (β-*g* A $S^1$). α *g* om.

9. Text follows β $S^1$ and practically A. α reads "And he stretched out his feet and slept at a good old age the eternal sleep." It seems a defective form of β A $S^1$.

# THE TESTAMENT OF ZEBULUN, THE SIXTH SON OF JACOB AND LEAH

I. The copy of the words of Zebulun, which he enjoined on his sons ⌜before he died⌝ in the hundred and fourteenth year of his life, two years after the death of Joseph. 2. And he said to them: Hearken to me, ye sons of Zebulun, attend to the words of your father. 3. I, Zebulun, was born a good gift to my parents. For when I was born my father was increased very exceedingly, both in flocks and herds, when with the straked rods he had his portion. 4. I am not conscious that I have sinned all my days, ⌜save in thought⌝. 5. Nor yet do I remember that I have done

Title. *a* in text. *β-a d g* $S^1$ read "Testament of Zebulun concerning compassion and mercy" (+"Zebulun is by interpretation a gift" *f*), *d g* "Testament of Zebulun the sixth (+"son of Jacob and Leah"+*d*) concerning (+"compassion" *d*) and almsgiving." $A^{abcfg}$=Test. of Zebulun (+"the son of Israel the son of Isaac" $A^{a\,b}$).

I. 1. *Sons* (*a*). *β* reads "children."

*Before he died* (*c d*). *β-d* A $S^1$ om.

*Fourteenth* (*h i β-a* $S^1$). *c* reads "fourth," *a* "fiftieth," A "twenty-fourth." According to the Bk. of Jashar (*Dict. des Apocr.* ii. 1248) also Zebulun died at the age of 114.

*Two years.* *b g* read "thirty-two." Since Joseph died at the age of 110 and Zebulun at that of 114, Zebulun must, according to our text have been born two years before Joseph. But according to the present text of Jub. xxviii. 24 they were born in the same year, whereas xxxiv. 10, xlvi. 1, 3 require us to assume that Joseph was born two years earlier. Syncellus *Chron.* i. 198 puts the birth of Zebulun one year earlier than that of Joseph. See my notes on Jubilees xxviii. 11-24.

2. *And he said* (*β-d g* $A^{acf}$ $S^1$). *a* reads "he said," *d g* A "he called his sons ("them" *g*) and said."

3. *Zebulun, a good gift* (זבולון זבר מוב). We have here one of the two paranomasiae that occur in Gen. xxx. 20.

*Was born* (*a*). *β* A $S^1$ read "am."

*My father* (*a d* A). *β-a d* $S^1$ read "our father."

*Straked rods.* Cf. Gen. xxx. 37 sqq.

*He had* (*β-d* $A^{abcf}$ $S^1$). *a d* read "I had."

4. *I am not conscious* (*β* A $S^1$). *a* reads "but I am not conscious."

*Conscious that . . . I have sinned.* Cf. T. Iss. vii. 1.

5. *Nor yet do I* (*β* A $S^1$). *a* reads "I do not."

any iniquity, except the sin of ignorance which I committed against Joseph; for I covenanted with my brethren not to tell my father what had been done. 6. But I wept ⌜in secret⌝ many days on account of Joseph, for I feared my brethren, ⌜because they had all agreed, that if any one should declare the secret, he should be slain⌝. 7. But when they wished to kill him, I adjured them much ⌜with tears⌝ not to be guilty of this sin.

II. For Simeon and Gad came against Joseph ⌜to kill him⌝, and he said unto them with tears; 2. Pity me, my brethren, have mercy upon the bowels of Jacob our father: lay not upon me your hands ⌜to shed innocent blood⌝, for I have not sinned against you. 3. And if indeed I have sinned, with chastening chastise me, ⌜my brethren,⌝ but lay not upon me your hand, for the sake of Jacob our father. 4. And as he spoke these words, ⌜wailing as he did so⌝, I was unable to bear his lamentations, and ⌜began to weep⌝,

*Sin of ignorance.* Cf. T. Reub. i. 6; T. Lev. iii. 5; T. Judah xix. 3.

*Which I committed* ($\beta$ A S$^1$). $\alpha$ om.

*Covenanted with.* Here $b\,g$ A read ἐσκέπασα (+τὸν λόγον A) ἐπί = ל כִּפִּיתִי corrupt for ל כָּרַתִּי = "covenanted with." $\alpha\,\beta$-$b\,g$ S$^1$ read ἐβεβαίωσα (+ἐπί $a\,e\,f$), which may be a bad translation of the original. Cf. use of κραταίωω in T. Naph. i. 4.

6. *But* ($\alpha\,\beta$-$b\,d\,g$ A$^{b*d}$ S$^1$). $b\,g$ A$^{a\,b\,c\,e\,f\,g}$ read "and."

*Wept.* $b$ adds "sore."

*Many days.* $b\,g$ omit.

7. *Kill him.* $c$ omits rest of verse and ii. 1$^a$ through hmt.

*I adjured them* ⌜*with tears*⌝ ($\beta$ A S$^1$). $h\,i$ read "I summoned them with tears."

II. 1. *Simeon.* $h$ adds "and Dan." Cf. iii. 2.

*Against Joseph.* $g$ reads "with anger." $d\,e$ S$^1$ add "with anger." $a\,f$ omit next ten words.

*And said unto them with tears* ($\alpha$). $\beta$-$a\,f$ S$^1$ read "and falling on his face Joseph said unto them." A combines both readings and possibly this fuller form is the original: A "and Joseph falling on his face wept and said" (A$^{c*d}$ "said with tears").

2. *Lay.* $d$ A read "and lay."

*Upon me* ($\beta$ A S$^1$). $\alpha$ omits.

3. *My brethren* ($\alpha\,\beta$-$b\,d$ S$^1$). $b\,d$ A omit.

*Upon me* ($\beta$ A S$^1$). $\alpha$ reads "to slay your brother" (ἐν φόνῳ ἀδελφοῦ ὑμῶν).

*Our father* ($h\,i\,\beta$ S$^1$). $c$ A read "your father."

4. *Wailing as he did so* ($\alpha$). $\beta$ A S$^1$ om.

*I was unable to bear his lamentations* ($\alpha$), (μὴ φέρων ἐγὼ τῶν οἰμωγῶν). $\beta$ S$^1$ read "I pitied him and" (εἰς οἶκτον ἦλθον ἐγὼ καὶ), A "pity fell into my heart."

I have rendered οἶκτος in $\beta$ A S$^1$ as "pity" because of the context. But it should be rendered as "lamentation" as a rendering of נהי. Cf. LXX of Jer. ix. 19. $\alpha$ renders it rightly by οἰμωγή. This being so, it follows that $\beta$, εἰς οἶκτον ἦλθον ἐγώ, is corrupt. It = לא נשאתי נהי באתי, corrupt for = לא נשאתי נהי-אל (τὴν) οἰμωγήν, which is practically the reading of $\alpha$.

and my liver was poured out, and all the substance of my bowels was †loosened. 5. And I wept with Joseph, and my heart sounded, ⌜and the joints of my body trembled⌝, and I was not able to stand. 6. And when ⌜Joseph⌝ saw me weeping with him, and them coming against him to slay him, he fled behind me, beseeching them. 7. But meanwhile Reuben rose and said: ⌜Come,⌝ my brethren, let us not slay him, but let us cast him into one of these dry pits, which our fathers digged and found no water. 8. For for this cause the Lord forbade that water should rise up in them, in order that Joseph should be preserved. 9. And they did so, until they sold him to the Ishmaelites.

III. For in his price I had no share, my children. 2. But Simeon and Gad and six other of our brethren took the price of Joseph, and bought sandals for themselves, and

*Poured out* (ἐξεχύθησαν *d g*). So also A for its text (which = ἐτύπησαν ἐν ἐμοί) is merely a corruption of that of *d g*. α *β-d g* S$^1$ read "melted" (ἐξελύθησαν), but *d g* A are right. Cf. Lam. ii. 11 "my liver is poured out" (נִשְׁפַּךְ בַּבָּרִי). The same corruption is found in some MSS. in LXX of Job xxx. 16.

*Was loosened* (α). *β* A S$^1$ read "was loosened within my soul." The text ἐχαυνοῦτο rendered here "loosened" is difficult. Perhaps it is corrupt for ἐθολοῦτο. If so, our text would be based on Lam. i. 20, ii. 11 חֻמְרְמְרוּ מֵעַי (see preceding note), and we should render "all the substance of my bowels was in a ferment" or "was troubled."

5. *And I wept with Joseph* (α A save that A read "with him"). *β* S$^1$ read "and Joseph wept and I wept with him."

*My heart soundeth* (α *β-d* S$^1$). The phrase is from Jer. iv. 19 הוֹמָה לִי לִבִּי. Cf. also xxxi. 20, xlviii. 36, etc. *d* A read ἐθαμβήθη "was astonied," *i.e.* תָּמַהּ.

*Joints of my body*, etc. Cf. Dan. v. 6.

*Trembled* (ἔτρεμον *h i*). *c* reads ἔτρεχον (a corruption of *h*), *β* S ἐξέστησαν.

6. *Joseph* (α). *β* A S$^1$ om.

*Beseeching them* (*β* A S$^1$). α reads "beseeching (me) to help him."

7. Cf. Gen. xxxvii. 22.

*But meanwhile* (α). *β* S$^1$ read "but," A "and then."

*Come* (α). *β* A S$^1$ om.

*Found no water.* This incident is referred to in Jub. xxiv. 25 which agrees with our text and the LXX on Gen. xxvi. 32, where the Massoretic, Samaritan and Syriac read "we have found water." See Jub. xxiv. 25 note.

9. *They did so* (α *d g* A). *β-d g* S$^1$ read "the Lord did so."

III. *His price* (α A). *β* S$^1$ read "Joseph's price."

2. *Gad and six other of our brethren* (*b-g* A, save that A omits "our" and *d* reads "my" in its stead, and *f* omits "other," and A$^{c\,d\,e\,f}$ om. "six"). *a e* are corrupt but support text. α reads "Dan and Gad and their children."

*His price* (α). A reads "it." *β* S$^1$ "the price of Joseph."

*Bought sandals.* This statement recurs also in Targ. Ps.-Jon. on Gen. xxxvii. 28: זַבְּנוּ מִנְּהוֹן סַנְדְּלִין and Pirke R. El. xxxviii. This idea seems to have arisen from a comparison of Amos ii. 6, "They have sold the righteous for silver, and the needy for a pair of shoes."

their wives, ⌜and their children,⌝ saying: 3. We will not eat of it, for it is the price of our brother's blood, but we will assuredly tread it under foot, because he said that he would be king over us, ⌜and so let us see what will become of his dreams⌝. 4. Therefore it is written in the writing of the law of Moses, that whosoever will not raise up seed to his brother, his sandal should be unloosed, and they should spit into his face. 5. And the brethren of Joseph wished not that their brother should live, and the Lord loosed from them the sandal which they wore against ⌜Joseph their brother⌝. 6. For when they came into Egypt ⌜they were unloosed by the servants of Joseph outside the gate, and so they made obeisance to Joseph after the fashion of King Pharaoh. 7. And⌝ not only did they make obeisance to him, but ⌜were spit upon also, falling down before him forthwith, and so⌝ they were put to shame before the Egyptians. 8. For after this the Egyptians heard all the evils that they had done to Joseph.

α

IV. And after he was †sold my brothers sat down to eat and drink. 2. But I, through pity for Joseph, did

3. *The price of blood.* Cf. Matt. xxvii. 6.

*Let us see*, etc. Gen. xxxvii. 20.

*Will become* (β-*f* S$^1$). *af* read "becomes of."

4-7. An attempt to explain the origin of certain customs of the Levirate Law.

4. *In the writing of the law of Moses it is written* (*a*). A reads "in their law it said," β S$^1$ "in the writing of the law of Enoch it is written." The text of β S$^1$ is clearly wrong here.

*Whosoever will not raise up seed to his brother, his sandal*, etc. Cf. Deut. xxv. 5-10; Ruth iv. 4 sqq.

5. *Against Joseph their brother.* A reads "against him."

6. *Outside* (*a* S$^1$). β reads "before."

*King. bg* omit.

β A S$^1$

IV. And after they had cast him into the pit ⌜my brethren⌝ sat down to eat. 2. ⌜For I through two days

7. *Forthwith* (παραχρῆμα *b d f* S). *a a e g* read παρὰ σχῆμα.

*Before* (β-*d* A S$^1$). *a d* read "by."

8. Text follows β S$^1$. *a* reads "For they heard (+"all" *h*) the evils that they had done unto him," A "for it was heard of by all the Egyptians."

IV. 1-6. The two recensions here do not differ materially. *a* om. ver. 4.

1. *After he was sold* (μετὰ τὸ πραθῆναι—*a*). Here πραθῆναι seems to be corrupt for βληθῆναι.

*Sat down* (ἐκάθησαν *a d*). So Gen. xxxvii. 25. *g* reads "began" (ἤρξαντο). A "wished" (ἤθελον). *a b e f* S$^1$ are defective and corrupt in this passage. For a possible explanation of the origin of the above variants see my text.

not eat, but watched the pit, since Judah feared lest Simeon, Dan, and Gad should rush off and slay him. 3. But when they saw that I did not eat, they set me to watch him, till he was sold to the Ishmaelites. 5. And when Reuben came and heard that while he was away (Joseph) had been sold, he rent his garments, (and) mourning, said: How shall I look on the face of my father Jacob? 6. And he took the money and ran after the merchants, but as he failed to find them he returned grieving. But the merchants had left the broad road and marched through the Troglodytes by a short cut.

and two nights eat nothing, through pity for Joseph.] And Judah eat not with them, but watched [the pit]; for he feared lest Simeon and Gad should run off and slay him. 3. And when they saw that I also eat not, they set me to watch him until he was sold. 4. And he spent in the pit three days and three nights, and so was sold famishing. 5. And when Reuben heard that while he was away (Joseph) had been sold, he rent his clothes, and mourned, saying: How shall I look in the face of Jacob my father? 6. And he took the money and ran after the merchants, and found no one; for they had left the main road, and journeyed through the Troglodytes by a short cut.

2. *And Dan* (α). See ii. 1.

3. *To the Ismaelites* (α). Cf. T. Sim. ii. 9; T. Zeb. ii. 9.

4. Possibly this verse was lost in α through hmt., as in *g* A$^{ac}$ the word "famishing" is placed after "nights."

5. Cf. Gen. xxxvii. 29, 30.

*While he was away.* According to the Targ. Ps.-Jon. on Gen. xxxvii. 29 Reuben was fasting at this time in the mountains on account of his sin with Bilhah.

*Clothes* (β A S$^1$). α reads "his garment" = בגדו.

*How shall I look upon the face of my father Jacob?* These words are reproduced in Targ. Ps.-Jon. and Targ. Jer. on Gen. xxxvii. 30: והכדין נחמי סבר אפוי דאבא.

6. *Troglodytes.* This people seems to be referred to again in Joseph. xi. 2 as Indokolpitae. The Troglodytes are mentioned only once in the LXX, *i.e.* in 2 Chron. xii. 3, where the word occurs as a translation of סֻכִּיִּים. They were evidently an African race. The Troglodytes lived according to Greek geographers on the west coast of the Red Sea.

7. ⌜But Reuben was grieved,⌝ and eat no food that day. Dan therefore came to him and said: 8. Weep not, neither grieve; for we have found what we can say to our father Jacob. 9. Let us slay a kid of the goats, and dip in it the coat of Joseph; and let us send it to Jacob, saying: Know, is this the coat of thy son? And they did so. 10. ⌜For they stripped off from Joseph his coat when they were selling him, and put upon him the garment of a slave.⌝ 11. Now Simeon took the coat, and would not give it up, ⌜for he wished to rend it with his sword,⌝ as he was angry that Joseph lived and that he had not slain him. 12. Then we ⌜all⌝ rose up and said unto him: If thou givest not up the coat, we will say ⌜to our father⌝ that thou alone didst this evil thing in Israel. 13. And so he gave it unto them, and they did even as Dan had said.

V. And now, my children, I bid you to keep the commands of the Lord, ⌜and to show mercy to your neighbours, and to have compassion towards all, not towards men only, but also towards beasts. 2. For for this thing's sake the Lord blessed me,⌝ and when all my brethren were sick, I escaped without sickness, for the Lord knoweth the purposes of each. 3. Have, therefore, compassion in your hearts, my children, because even as a man doeth to his

7. *But Reuben was grieved* (α). β A $S^1$ omit.

8. *We have found* (α). β A $S^1$ read "I have found."

*Father* (α). β-*g* A $S^1$ add "Jacob."

9. *Slay* (*b d* A). α β-*b d* $S^1$ add "with the sword."

*Let us send it to Jacob saying* (α). β A $S^1$ read "and we will say" (+ "to Jacob" A).

*Is this* (α *d e f*). α *b g* A $S^1$ read "whether this is."

10. *His coat* (α). β-*d g* $S^1$ read "the coat of our father."

*Selling* (α). β $S^1$ read "about to sell."

*Garment* (α). β-*g* $S^1$ read "old garment."

11. *Took* (α). β A $S^1$ read "had."

*Joseph lived and* (β A $S^1$ save that β $S^1$ om. "Joseph"). α om.

12. *We all rose up and said unto him* (α). β $S^1$ read "we all rose up together against him and said," A "we rose up and said against him."

*The coat* (α $A^b$). β-*d* $A^{-b}$ $S^1$ omit.

*To our father* (α *g*). β-*g* A $S^1$ omit.

*This evil thing in Israel* (α). β-*a* $A^{ab*cdeg}$ $S^1$ read "the evil thing."

V. 1. *The Lord.* *c* reads "God."

3. *My children* (β-*d* A $S^1$). α omits.

*Even as a man doeth unto his neighbour*, etc. Cf. viii. 2; Judg. i. 7; also Matt. vii. 2 "With what measure ye mete, it shall be measured unto you again."

neighbour, even so also will the Lord do to him. 4. For the sons of my brethren were sickening and were dying on account of Joseph, ⌜because they showed not mercy in their hearts⌝; but my sons were preserved without sickness, as ye know. 5. And when I was in the land of Canaan, by the sea-coast, I made a catch of fish for Jacob my father; and when many were choked in the sea, I continued unhurt.

VI. I was the first to make a boat to sail upon the sea, for the Lord gave me understanding ⌜and wisdom therein⌝. 2. And I let down a rudder behind it, and I stretched a sail upon another upright piece of wood in the midst. 3. And I sailed therein along the shores, catching fish for the house of my father until we came to Egypt.

Verses 4-6 found only in *b d g.*

[4. And through compassion I shared my catch with every stranger. 5. And if a man were a stranger, or

4. *And were dying* (*a d g* A). *β-d g* $S^1$ read "were dying."

*In their hearts* (*β* $S^1$). *c* reads "to them."

5. *The land of. c b* omit.

VI. 1. *I was. a* adds "therefore."

*The first to make a boat.* This idea seems to have been derived from Gen. xlix. 13.

2. *Rudder.* Literally "a piece of wood."

*Another* (*a*). *β* $S^1$ om. A corrupt.

3. *Therein* (*h i β* $S^1$). *c* A omit.

*Catching fish* (*g*). *b d* A read "and (*b* om.) I caught fish." *a f* read "in." *a* omits.

4-6. The sections peculiar to *b d g, i.e.* vi. 4-6, $7^b$, vii.-viii., probably go back to a Hebrew original. viii. 3 is the saying on mercy attributed to Gamaliel II. or Gamaliel of Jabneh, who was the recognised head of the Jews in Palestine about 80-105 A.D. Since, however, viii. 3 is practically a restatement of v. 3, which is attested by all the authorities, it is not improbable that Gamaliel used our author; for Deut. xiii. 18, in connection with which his saying is said to have originated, cannot in itself have suggested the saying. The saying is, "He that hath mercy on his fellowmen will receive mercy from heaven; and he that hath not mercy on his fellowmen will not receive mercy from heaven" (כל המרחם על הבריות מרחמין עליו מן השמים וכל שאינו מרחם על הבריות אין מרחם עליו מן השמים—Shabb. 151 *b*). It is found also in the Jerusalem Talmud B.K. 6*c* in a slightly different form, "Let this be a token to thee! so long as thou hast mercy, God (המקום) will have mercy on thee; but if thou hast not mercy, etc."; in Sifre, Deut. 96, without the initial sentence, "Let this, etc."; also in the Toseph. B.K. ix. 30, but with the omission of the negative sentence, as in our text viii. 3. Bacher (*Agada der Tann.*[2] i. 94 note, 1903) points out that in Tanch. B. וירא 30, Pesikta r. c. 38, 165*a*, this saying is assigned to Jose, the son of the Damascene woman. This fact shows that so far as Talmudic authorities are concerned the original author of the saying cannot be determined with certainty.

Of course it is quite possible that these sections belonged to a fuller form of the text, though they can hardly have stood in their present context.

sick, or aged, I boiled the fish, and dressed them well, and offered them to all men, as every man had need, grieving with and having compassion upon them. 6. Wherefore also the Lord satisfied me with abundance of fish when catching fish; for he that shareth with his neighbour receiveth manifold more from the Lord.] 7. For five years I caught fish, [and gave thereof to every man whom I saw, and sufficed for all the house of my father]. 8. And in the summer I caught fish, and in the winter I kept sheep with my brethren.

VII.-VIII. 3 found only in *b d g*.

VII. [Now I will declare unto you what I did. I saw a man in distress through nakedness in winter-time, and had compassion upon him, and stole away a garment secretly from my father's house, and gave it to him who was in distress. 2. Do you, therefore, my children, from that which God bestoweth upon you, show compassion and mercy without hesitation to all men, and give to every man with a good heart. 3. And if ye have not the wherewithal to give to him that needeth, have compassion for him in bowels of mercy. 4. I know that my hand found not the wherewithal to give to him that needed, and I walked with

5. *Grieving with* (συναλγῶν *d*). *b g* read "gathering together" (συνάγων).

6. *Satisfied me . . . with abundance of fish* (πολλοὺς ἰχθύας ἐνέπλησέ με *d*). For ἐνέπλησε *b g* read ἐποίησε = עָשָׂה which may have been a corruption of עָבַע = ἐνέπλησε. But the corruption may have arisen within the Greek Version.

*To his neighbour*. *d* adds "with all willingness."

*Manifold more* (*b g*). *d* reads "sevenfold more."

7. *Five years*. *a* adds "therefore."

[*And gave thereof . . . to the house of my father*]. Only in *b d g*.

*Whom I saw* (*b g* ὃν ἐωράκειν). *d* reads "what sufficed" (τὸ ἀρκοῦν).

*I sufficed* (ἐξαρκῶν). This is a peculiar expression. Possibly we should read τὸ ἐξαρκοῦν here.

VII. 1. *Now* (*b g*). *d* reads "and now."

*On him* (*b g*). *d* omits.

*My father's house* (*d*). *b g* read "my house."

2. *Show . . . mercy without hesitation*. Cf. Jude 22 οὓς μὲν ἐλεᾶτε διακρινόμενοι (K L P) where I would suggest that μή should be restored before διακρινόμενοι. Perhaps ἀδιακρίτως might be rendered "without partiality."

3. *Have not*. *b* adds "at the time."

*Give to him that needeth* (τῷ χρήζοντι). This could also be rendered "give to him that asketh." Cf. Matt. v. 42.

4. *I know* (*b g*). *d* reads "for I know one day."

*Found not*. *b* adds "at the time."

him weeping for seven furlongs, and my bowels yearned towards him in compassion.

VIII. Have, therefore, yourselves also, my children, compassion towards every man with mercy, that the Lord also may have compassion and mercy upon you. 2. Because also in the last days God will send His compassion on the earth, and wheresoever He findeth bowels of mercy He dwelleth in him. 3. For in the degree in which a man hath compassion upon his neighbours, in the same degree hath the Lord also upon him.] 4. And when we went down into Egypt, Joseph bore no malice against us. 5. To whom taking heed, do ye also, my children, ⌜approve yourselves without malice, and⌝ love one another; and do not set down in account, each one of you, evil against his brother. 6. For this breaketh unity, and divideth ⌜all kindred, and troubleth the soul⌝, and weareth away the countenance.

IX. Observe, ⌜therefore,⌝ the waters, and know when they flow together, they sweep along stones, trees, earth, and other things. 2. But if they are divided into many streams, the earth swalloweth them up, and they become of

VIII. 2. *Last days.* See note on T. Iss. vi. 1.

3. See v. 3 note. This sentiment is found in Sifre, Deut. 96; Shabb. 151*b*. See note under vi. 4-6.

*Neighbours* (*d g*). *b* reads "neighbour."

4. *And when* (*α β-b d g* A). *b d g* read "for when," $S^1$ "when."

If *b d g* were the original reading, it would be a strong argument in favour of the originality of vii.–viii. 2.

*No malice against us.* *b g* add "but (*g* "for") when he saw me he had compassion." This addition is supported by *d* but in another form.

5. *Approve yourselves without malice and* (*b g* $S^1$). So practically *d* but the order is different. *α a e f* A om.

*Set not down in account . . . brother* (*μὴ λογίζεσθε ἕκαστος κακίαν πρὸς τ. ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ*). Cf. 1 Cor. xiii. 5, *οὐ λογίζεται τὸ κακόν.*

*Evil against his brother* (*c* A). *β* $S^1$ read "the evil of his brother."

6. *And weareth away the countenance* (*καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον ἀφανίζει — α*). *a e f* A (?) $S^1$ read *τὴν ὕπαρξιν ἀφανίζει.* Here *ὕπαρξιν* = אונים, a corruption of פנים. *b d g* read *ὁ γὰρ μνησίκακος σπλάχνα ἔλεους οὐκ ἔχει*, "for he who beareth malice has no bowels of mercy." With "bowels of mercy" (*σπλάγχνα ἐλέους*), cf. Lk. i. 78, Col. iii. 12.

IX. This chapter belongs apparently to the period of the later Maccabeans. It deals with the divisions caused by Hyrcanus II. and Antigonus II.

1. *Therefore* (*a d*). *β-d* A $S^1$ om.

*And know when* (*α*). *β-b d f* A read "that when."

*Earth and other things* (*α*). *β-b d* A read "earth, sand."

no account. 3. So shall ye also be if ye be divided. 4. Be not ye, therefore, divided into two heads, for everything which the Lord made hath but one head, and two shoulders, two hands, two feet, but all the remaining members. 5. For I have learnt in the writing of my fathers, that

Ye shall be divided in Israel,
And ye shall follow two kings,
And shall work every abomination.

6. And your enemies shall lead you captive,
And ye shall be evil entreated among the Gentiles,
With many infirmities and tribulations.

α

7. And after these things ye shall remember the Lord and repent,

And He shall have mercy upon you, for He is merciful and compassionate.

And He setteth not down in account evil

β A S¹

7. And after these things ye shall remember the Lord, and repent,

[And He shall cause you to return]; for He is merciful and compassionate.

And He setteth not down in account evil to the

3. *So.* α reads "so accordingly."

4, 5. The opposing parties under Hyrcanus II. and Antigonus II. are here obviously alluded to.

4. *And two shoulders . . . members* (α). β-*d* A S¹ read "He gave two shoulders, hands, feet, and all the members are subject to one head."

5. *For* (α *d* A). β-*d* S¹ om.

*Writings of my fathers.* See T. Lev. x. 5, note.

*That.* *b d g* add "in the last days ye will depart from the Lord and."

*Kings* (*b d g* A S¹). α *a e f* S² read "kingdoms."

*Every abomination.* *h i* β S¹ add "And worship every idol" (*h i* "idols"), against *c* A.

6. *Many* (α). β A S¹ read "all."

*Be evil entreated* (κακωθήσεσθε, *h i* β-*b d* A S¹). *c b d* read "dwell" (καθίσεσθε).

*Tribulations.* *b d g* add "and anguish of soul."

7. *Ye shall . . . repent, And he shall have mercy upon you* (α). Here instead of "repent" α reads ἐπιστρέψετε = "ye shall return" (=תשובו); but as the next verse shows there is no idea of "the return" in ver. 7. Hence תשובו should have been rendered "ye shall repent," as in β A S¹ and T. Dan vi. 4 (α). Now turning to β A S¹ we find that they read μετανοήσετε καὶ ἐπιστρέψει = תשוב וישיב. Thus ἐπιστρέψει has here arisen through a dittography, and this dittography has replaced the original clause preserved in α, "and He shall have mercy." Perhaps, however, we should retain the rendering "return," and supply after it "unto Him." Cf. T. Dan v. 9ᵃ.

against the sons of men,
Because they are flesh, and are deceived through their own wicked deeds.

*a a e f* A $S^1$

8. And after these things shall there arise ⌜unto you⌝ the Lord Himself, the light of righteousness,

And ye shall return unto your own land.

And ye shall see Him in Jerusalem, ⌜for His name's sake⌝.

sons of men, because they are flesh,
And the spirits of deceit deceive them in all their deeds.

*b d g*

8. And after these things there shall arise unto you the Lord Himself, the light of righteousness,
[And healing and compassion shall be in His wings.
He shall redeem all the captivity of the sons of men from Beliar;
And every spirit of deceit shall be trodden down];
And He shall bring back all the Gentiles into zeal for Him.
And ye shall see [God in the fashion of a man] (the place) which the Lord shall choose, Jerusalem is its name.

*Because they are flesh.* Cf. Gen. vi. 3; T. Jud. xix. 4.

8. Here decidedly *a a e f* A $S^1$ are to be followed. The text of *b d g* may be a Jewish expansion of *a a e f* A $S^1$. Thus "And healing and compassion shall be in his wings" (Mal. iv. 2), would naturally be suggested by the phrase "light of righteousness." The next line is to be understood as T. Dan v. $11^a$, and not as Eph. iv. 8, while "And every spirit of deceit shall be trodden down," could be derived from T. Lev. xviii. 12; T. Sim. vi. 6. The text of the last line is hopelessly uncertain. The translation follows *b g* save that for "(the place) Jerusalem is its name," *g* reads "whom the Lord shall choose in Jerusalem for His name's sake," *d* "and His name shall be called the angel of great counsel."

*There shall arise.* Cf. T. Lev. xviii. 3; T. Jud. xxiv. 1.

*The light of righteousness.* Mal. iv. 2. In T. Jud. xxiv. 1 we find the more literal rendering, "sun of righteousness."

*See Him* (*a*). *a e f* A $S^1$ read "Lord."

*Name's sake* (*a e f* $S^1$). *c* read "holy name's sake," *h i* "all holy name's sake."

9. And again ⌜through the wickedness of your works⌝
shall ye provoke Him to anger,
And ye shall be cast away ⌜by Him⌝ unto the time of
consummation.

X. And now, my children, grieve not that I am dying, nor be cast down in that I am coming to my end. 2. For I shall rise again in the midst of you, ⌜as a ruler in the midst of his sons⌝; and I shall rejoice in the midst of my tribe, as many as shall keep the law of the Lord, ⌜and the commandments of Zebulun their father⌝. 3. But upon the ungodly shall the Lord bring eternal fire, and destroy them throughout all generations. 4. But I am now hastening away to my rest, as did also my fathers. 5. But do ye fear the Lord ⌜our God with all your strength all the days of your life⌝. 6. And when he had said these things he fell asleep, ⌜at a good old age⌝. And his sons laid him in a ⌜wooden⌝ coffin. 7. And afterwards they carried him up and buried him in Hebron, with his fathers.

9. *By Him* (α). β $S^1$ om. A read among the Gentiles."

X. 1. *That I am dying.* A reads at my words."

*Be cast down.* So I have rendered συμπίπτετε. But this absolute use of the word is difficult. Perhaps ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ὑμῶν should be supplied: cf. Neh. vi. 16, ויפלו בעיניהם or τῷ προσώπῳ as in Gen. iv. 5. See T. Jos. vii. 1.

*Am coming to my end* (α a d e $S^1$). b f g read "am passing away from you," A "am passing away from life."

2. *Shall keep* (α). β A $S^1$ read "have kept."

3. Cf. Ps. xi. 6.

*Throughout all generations.* A reads from the children of Israel."

4. *But I am now* (α A $S^1$ save that A om. "but" and $S^1$ "now"). d e f read "for a time therefore," a "but for a time."

*As also* (α $A^{ab}$). β-d read "as."

5. *Our God* (c a e f g). h i b d $S^1$ read "your God."

6. *At a good old age.* The text has ὕπνῳ καλῷ = בְּשֵׂיבָה טוֹבָה where שינה is corrupt for שִׂיבָה = γήρει. Cf. T. Iss. vii. 9; T. Dan vii. 1; T. Ash. viii. 2; T. Jos. xx. 4; T. Benj. xii. 2.

*Wooden* (α). β A $S^1$ om. Cf. T. Sim. vii. 2.

7. *Carried him up . . . Hebron* (α d $A^{b*d}$). β-d g $A^{abefg}$ $S^1$ read "carried him up to Hebron and buried him."

# THE TESTAMENT OF DAN, THE SEVENTH SON OF JACOB AND BILHAH

I. The copy of the words of Dan, which he spake to his sons in his last days, in the hundred and twenty-fifth year of his life. 2. For he called together his family, and said: Hearken to my words, ye sons of Dan; and give heed to the words ⌜of your father⌝. 3. I have proved in my heart, and in my whole life, that truth with just dealing is good and well pleasing to God, and that lying and anger are evil, because they teach man all wickedness. 4. I confess, therefore, this day to you, my children, that in my heart I resolved on the death of Joseph ⌜my brother⌝, the true and good man. [5. And I rejoiced that he was sold, because his father loved him more than us.] 6. For the spirit of

Title. *a* in text. *b e f* $S^1$ read "Testament of Dan concerning anger and lying" ("concerning lying and anger, Dan is by interpretation judgment," *f*); *g* "the beginning of the words of the Testament of Dan concerning wrath and lying, the seventh"; *d* is conflate, "Testament of Dan, the seventh son of Jacob, the first son of Bilhah, concerning wrath and lying"; A "Testament of Dan concerning arrogancy and hatred."

I. 2. *For* (*a d g*). *a e f* read "and." *b* $S^1$ A om.

*His family* (*a* β-*d g* $S^1$). *d* A read "his sons."

*Said.* *d* A add "to them."

*My words, ye sons of Dan* (*h i* β $A^{ab*cdefg}$ $S^1$). *c* $A^b$ read "the words ($A^b$ om.) of Dan your father."

*Of your father* (*a d g*). β-*d g* $S^1$ read "of the mouth of your father," A "of my mouth."

3. *Just dealing.* We should expect "long-suffering" here as opposed to "anger" as in ii. 1, vi. 8.

4. *Therefore* (*a* A). β om.

*Resolved on the death* (ἐθέμην περὶ τοῦ θανάτου—*a*). β (A) $S^1$ read "rejoiced concerning the death" (ἠδόμην περὶ τ. θ.). The latter reading is very difficult: that of *a* is to be preferred. It goes back to the Hebrew שום על לב. ἠδόμην is then to be explained as a translation of שמחתי which was corrupt for שמתי. On this evil intent of Dan cf. T. Zeb. ii. 1, iii. 2.

*My brother* (*a*). β A $S^1$ om.

5. I have bracketed this verse as an interpolation. It breaks the connection between 4 and 6.

*His father . . . him* (ὁ πατήρ αὐτόν—*a a e f* $S^1$). *d g* $A^{abc}$ read "our father . . . him," *b* "his father" (ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ).

jealousy and vainglory said to me: Thou thyself also art his son. 7. And one of the spirits of Beliar stirred me up, saying: Take this sword, and ⌜with it⌝ slay Joseph; so shall thy father love thee when he is dead. 8. Now this was the spirit of anger that persuaded me to crush Joseph as a leopard crusheth a kid.

| *a* | *β* A S[1] |
|---|---|
| 9. But the God of my fathers did not suffer him to fall into my hands, so that I should find him alone and slay him, and cause a second tribe to be destroyed in Israel. | 9. But the God of Jacob our father did not deliver him into my hands that I should find him alone, nor suffer me to work this iniquity, lest two tribes should be destroyed in Israel. |

II. And now, my children, behold I am dying, and I tell you of a truth, that unless ye keep yourselves from the spirit of lying and of anger, and love truth and longsuffering, ye shall perish.

| *c* | *β* A S[1] |
|---|---|
| 2. For anger is blindness, and does not suffer one to see the face of any man with truth. | 2. There is blindness in anger, my children, and no angry man seeth the face with truth. |

3. For though it be a father or a mother, ⌜he behaveth

7. Cf. T. Zeb. ii. 1, iii. 2.

*Stirred . . . up.* Text reads *συνήργει* ("helped") = יעזר corrupt for יעיר = *ἤγειρε*.

*Saying* (*β* A S[1]). *a* om.

8. *Now this was* (*a*). *a b e f* S[1] read "this is," *g* A "now this."

*To crush . . . a kid* (*β-a d f* A). *a* reads "as ("for as" *h i*) a leopard crusheth a kid, so it suggested to me to crush Joseph," *a f* "for as a leopard crusheth a kid, so will I crush Joseph." All the MSS and Versions read some form of *ἐκμυζᾶν* = "to suck" in both instances where I have rendered "crush" and "crusheth." *ἐκμυζᾶν* = מצץ corrupt for רצץ, "to crush," "dash in pieces." A emends the text: "to suck the blood of Joseph as a leopard sucks the blood of a kid." It is possible that *ἐμοὶ ἐνέβαλεν* in *a* is a dittographic rendering of what has already been translated "persuaded me" (*πεῖθόν με*), both renderings going back to המיתני.

II. 2. The text of *a* is free from difficulty. As regards that of *β* A S[1] we should observe that *a e f* A S[1] om. "angry." For "the face" (*τὸ πρόσωπον*) we might render freely "any person."

*Truth and longsuffering.* Cf. vi. 8.

towards them as enemies⌉; though it be a brother, he knoweth him not; though it be a prophet of the Lord, he disobeyeth him; though a righteous man, he regardeth him not; ⌈though a friend, he doth not acknowledge him⌉. 4. For the spirit of anger encompasseth him with the net of deceit, and blindeth his eyes, and through lying darkeneth his mind, and giveth him its own peculiar vision. 5. And wherewith encompasseth it his eyes? With hatred of heart, so as to be envious of his brother.

| $\alpha$ | $\beta$-$a$ A $S^1$ |
|---|---|
| III. For anger is an evil thing, my children, for it troubleth even the soul itself. | For anger is an evil thing, my children, for it becomes a soul to the soul itself. |

2. And the body of the angry man it maketh its own, and over his soul it getteth the mastery, and it bestoweth upon the body ⌈power that it may work all⌉ iniquity. 3. And when the body does all these things, the soul justifieth what is done, since it seeth not aright. 4. Therefore he who is wrathful, if he be a mighty man, hath a threefold power in his anger: one by the help of his servants; and a second by his wealth, whereby he persuadeth and over-

4. *For the spirit of anger . . . net of deceit* ($a\beta S^1$ save that $\beta S^1$ read "nets"). A reads "for the spirit of deceit encompasseth with the nets of luxury."

*His eyes* ($a\alpha$). $\beta$-$a$ A $S^1$ read "his natural eyes."

5. *And wherewith . . . his eyes* ($a\beta$). A reads "and then it encompasses (him) with its own eyes and surrounds."

*With hatred of heart, so as to be envious of his brother* (ἐν μίσει καρδίας κατὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς φθόνον—$a$, though $c$ is somewhat corrupt). A fuller form of text is represented by $b\,e$ A $S^1$: "with hatred of heart and it gives him its own heart (A "a heart hostile"; $S^1$ "a heart") so as to be envious of his brother"; $d\,f$ give divergent readings which, however, support $b\,e$ A $S^1$.

III. 1. *For.* $b\,d\,S^1$ om. A is here corrupt.

*For it troubleth* (ἐκταράσσει) *even the soul itself* ($a$). $\beta$-$a\,g$ A $S^1$ read "for it becometh a soul to the soul itself."

Here $\beta$-$a\,g$ A $S^1$ is very forcible. Anger gets hold of the entire personality. $\alpha$ may have arisen as follows. γίνεται ψυχή = היה לנפש, which was corrupted into היה רופש = ἐκταράσσει. Cf. Ezek. xxxiv. 18, Prov. xxv. 26.

2. *Power* ($a\,g$). $\beta$-$g$ $S^1$ read "its own power"; A "its own."

3. *When the body does all these things, since it . . . aright* ($a$). $\beta$ A $S^1$ read "when it doeth aught, the soul justifieth what is done since it seeth not."

4. *A mighty man.* $\alpha$ adds "in body."

cometh wrongfully; and thirdly, having his own natural power he worketh thereby the evil. 5. And though the wrathful man be weak, yet hath he a power twofold of that which is by nature; for wrath ever aideth such in lawlessness. 6. This spirit goeth always with lying ⌜at the right hand of Satan, that with cruelty and lying⌝ his works may be wrought.

IV. Understand ye, therefore, the power of wrath, that it is †vain. 2. For it first of all gives provocation by word; then by deeds †it strengtheneth him who is angry, and with sharp losses disturbeth his mind, and so stirreth up with great wrath his soul. 3. Therefore, when any one speaketh against you, be not ye moved to anger, [and if any man praiseth you as holy men, be not uplifted: be not moved either to delight or to disgust]. 4. For first †it pleaseth the hearing†, and so maketh the mind keen to perceive the grounds for provocation; and then being enraged, he thinketh that he is justly angry.

*And thirdly* (καὶ τρίτον *d* A). *a g* read "thirdly"; *b e f* S[1] read "the third" (τρίτην τήν), and connect with "power" (δύναμιν) understood.

*Having his own natural power . . . the evil* (*a*). *β* A S[1] read "having the natural power of his body and of his own agency working."

5. *Hath he a power twofold of that which is by nature* (*β* A S[1]). *α* reads "the passion of anger (ὀργῆς) springeth up in him with twofold power."

6. *With lying.* *α* A omit the bracketed words that follow through hmt.

IV. 1. *That it is †vain.* This = כי הבל, corrupt for כי יחבל = "that it is a destroyer."

2. *Gives provocation* (*b d g* A S[1]). *α a e f* read "is provoked."

*Strengtheneth* (δυναμοῖ). The sense is unsatisfactory. Possibly יגבר (*i.e.* δυναμοῖ, is corrupt for יְמָרֵר = "embitters," or יעו for יְעִיר = "inciteth."

*Sharp* (πικραῖς — *α b*). *a e f g* A S[1] read "small" (μικραῖς); *d* "long" (μακραῖς).

3. The latter half of this verse cannot belong to its present context. Verse 4 should follow immediately on ver. 3[a]. For iv. 1-4 deals with the subject of anger and provocation thereto.

*Holy men* (*a a e f*). *b d g* A S[1] read "good men."

*Be not moved* (μὴ μεταβάλλεσθε). μεταβάλλεσθαι εἰς τέρψιν may be here a rendering of נֶהְפַּךְ לִשְׂמְחָה. Cf. Esther ix. 22.

4. †*Pleaseth* = τέρπει. This is clearly wrong. Perhaps it = הרנין, corrupt for הרגיז = "gives provocation." The hearing = τὴν ἀκοήν. Here ἡ ἀκοή is obviously "the thing said" (referring to 3[a], "when any one speaketh against you"), and stood in the nominative. The corruption of הרגיז into הרנין misled the translator into taking הַשְׁמוּעָה as the accusative. Hence ver. 4 should be rendered, "For first, the thing said giveth provocation, and so maketh the mind keen to perceive, etc."

*To perceive.* A reads "and it teaches."

*The grounds for provocation.* Here I read τὸ ἐρέθισαν for τὸ ἐριθισθέν of *α β-d g* S[1]. *d g* read "what has been said" (τὸ ῥηθέν); A "the mind of him who gives provocation."

*And being enraged* (α A). *β* S[1] read "and then being enraged."

5. If ye fall into any loss or ruin, my children, ⌜be not afflicted⌝; for this very spirit maketh (a man) desire that which is perishable, in order that he may be enraged through the affliction. 6. And if ye suffer loss voluntarily, or involuntarily, be not vexed; for from vexation ariseth wrath ⌜with lying⌝. 7. Moreover, a twofold mischief is wrath with lying; and they assist one another in order to disturb the heart; and when the soul is continually disturbed, the Lord departeth from it, and Beliar ruleth over it.

V. Observe, therefore, my children, the commandments of the Lord,

And keep His law;
Depart from wrath,
And hate lying,
That the Lord may dwell among you,
And Beliar may flee from you.

2. Speak truth each one with his neighbour,
So shall ye not fall into wrath and confusion;
But ye shall be in peace, having the God of peace,
So shall no war prevail over you.

3. Love the Lord through all your life,
And one another with a true heart.

5. *This very spirit . . . perishable.* A reads "the spirit of error desired to do this thing, and to accomplish the ruin."

*He may be enraged through the affliction* (*θυμῷ πέσῃ διὰ τοῦ πάθους—α*). *β* $S^1$ read "he may be enraged through the longing" (*θυμωθῇ διὰ τοῦ πόθου*); A "he may be grieved through desire (?) for the thing lost."

6. *And* (*c*). *h β* A*β* om.

*Ariseth* (*a d* A $S^1$). *β-a d* read "it causes to arise."

7. *Moreover . . . with lying.* *a f g* omit through hmt.

V. 1. *Commandments* (*b d g* A $S^1$). *a a e f* read "commandment."

2. *Speak truth*, etc. (*ἀλήθειαν φθέγγεσθε ἕκαστος πρὸς τὸν πλησίον αὐτοῦ*). This quotation from Zech. viii. 16 is found also in T. Reub. vi. 9. This command is borrowed independently from Zech. by St. Paul in Eph. iv. 25 *λαλεῖτε ἀλήθειαν ἕκαστος μετὰ τοῦ πλησίου αὐτοῦ.*

*God of peace.* This expression is adopted (?) by St. Paul from our text. Cf. 1 Thess. v. 23; Rom. xv. 33; Phil. iv. 9.

3. Our text is here remarkable in being the first literary authority which conjoins the two great commandments of love to God (Deut. vi. 5) and love to our neighbour (Lev. xix. 18). It is not unreasonable to assume our Lord's acquaintance with it. Cf. Matt. xxii. 37, 39; Luke x. 27.

In Lev. xix. 18 certainly, and in our text possibly, the sphere of neighbourhood is limited to Israelites. In our

4. I know that in the last days ye shall depart from the Lord,
And ye shall provoke Levi unto anger,
And fight against Judah;
But ye shall not prevail against them,
For an angel of the Lord shall guide them both;
For by them shall Israel stand.

5. And whensoever ye depart from the Lord, ye shall walk in all evil and work the abominations of the Gentiles, going a-whoring after women of the lawless ones, while with all wickedness the spirits of wickedness work [in you].

[6. For I have read in the book of Enoch, the righteous,

Lord's use there is no limit of race or country.

*Love the Lord.* Cf. Deut. vi. 5, x. 12, xxx. 6.

*Through all your life* (*c* β-*a d* A $S^1$). This clause is not very apt. *h d* read "with all thy soul." This looks like a scribal emendation, but it may be right. ἐν πάσῃ τῇ ζωῇ ὑμῶν may be a mistranslation of בכל־נפשכם.

*True.* A reads "pure."

4. *I know* (*a* A). β $S^1$ read "for I know."

*Levi . . . Judah.* See note on T. Reub. vi. 5-12.

*Ye shall not prevail*, etc. Cf. T. Reub. vi. 5; T. Sim. v. 5.

5. *Ye shall walk . . . and work* (*a*). β-*a* $S^1$ read "walking (*b* "ye walk") . . . and (*b g* $S^1$ om.) working." $A^{abb^*e}$ "ye shall ($A^b$ om.) walk . . . and working."

*All wickedness. d g* read "all fornication."

*Spirits of wickedness* (πνεύματα τῆς πονηρίας—*a f*). *b e* A $S^1$ read "spirits of fornication"; *d g* "spirits of error and (*d* om.) fornication (πορνείας)."

6-7. In ver. 4 we have the supremacy of Levi and Judah asserted, and the vain assaults made upon them by the sons of Dan. The same verse declares that Levi and Judah are the stay of Israel and are under the immediate guidance of the angel of the Lord. Such statements harmonise with the entire groundwork of the Testaments. In verses 6-7, however, Levi and Judah are assailed as the chief sources of the evils and calamities of Israel. These verses, therefore, are to be assigned to the first century B.C., when the nation was torn by civil dissensions and radically demoralised under the later Maccabeans. They may come from the same hand as T. Levi x., xiv.–xvi.; T. Judah xxi. 6–xxiii.; T. Zeb. ix. Nor, again, can we regard it as in the least degree probable that a patriotic Jew, writing in the palmiest days of the Maccabean hegemony, should assert that one of the Twelve Tribes was under the actual rule of Satan and yet speak just as assuredly of its ultimate conversion (ver. 9).

6. This verse is of great importance, as it is the most ancient authority we at present possess for the view which connected the tribe of Dan with the Antichrist. Even in the OT. the ground was prepared for such a view.

i. Thus Dan was early connected with idolatry: the children of Dan set up for themselves a graven image, Judg. xviii. 30: one of the golden calves was placed in Dan, 1 Kings xii. 29. Further, in later times we remark that Dan is the last in the list of the tribes in 1 Chron. xxvii. 16-22; no Levitical cities are appointed in the tribe of Dan in 1 Chron. vi. 61 *sqq.*, though in Josh. xxi. 23, on which 1 Chron. vi. 61 is based, such cities are mentioned.

ii. The darker side of Dan's history in the OT. is that which is mainly accentuated in rabbinic literature.

that your prince is Satan, and that all the spirits of wickedness and pride will conspire to attend constantly on the sons of Levi, to cause them to sin before the Lord.

7. And my sons will draw near to Levi,
   And sin with them in all things;
   And the sons of Judah will be covetous,
   Plundering other men's goods like lions.]
8. Therefore shall ye be led away [with them] into captivity,
   And there shall ye receive all the plagues of Egypt,
   And all the evils of the Gentiles.

According to Shabbath 66 Dan represents idolatry. Whereas Deut. xxv. 18 states that Amalek slew "the hindmost" and "the feeblest" of Israel, the Targ. Ps.-Jon. on this passage declares that these were of the tribe of Dan, and that they were slain because of their idolatry. For other passages see *Jewish Encyc.* iv. 423.

iii. But the OT. passage, from which the immediate connection of Dan and Satan which appears in our text is derived, is probably Jer. viii. 16, "the snorting of his horses is heard from Dan." For in Irenæus v. 30. 2 this verse is interpreted of the Antichrist, and at the close of the quotation Irenæus adds that on account of Dan's connection with the Antichrist his name is omitted from N.T. Apocalypse ("Propter hoc non annumeratur tribus haec in Apocalypsi cum his quae salvantur"). Rabbinic tradition also preserves a similar view; for Ber. rab. xliii. refers Jer. viii. 16 to Dan's idolatry. The derivation of the Antichrist from Dan is clearly stated also by Andreas in his commentary on the Apoc. xvi. 12: "It is probable that the Antichrist will come from the eastern parts of Persia where is the tribe of Dan." See Bousset's *Antichrist* (Engl. Trans.), 171 sqq. This view so attested in Christian writings is undoubtedly Jewish, and finds its earliest distinct expression in our text, which here goes back to the middle of the first century B.C.

*Enoch, the righteous.* See note on T. Levi x. 4. *c* adds "and I have known," *h i* "and I have found."

*Is* ($\alpha\,\beta$). A $S^1$ read "will be."

*All* ($b\,d\,e\,g$ A $S^1$). $\alpha\,f$ omit.

*Spirits of wickedness* ($\pi\nu.\ \tau\hat{\eta}s\ \pi o\nu\eta\rho\acute{\iota}as$ —$\alpha\,f$). $\beta$-$f$ A $S^1$ read "spirits (+"of error and" $d\,g$) of fornication ($\pi o\rho\nu\epsilon\acute{\iota}as$).

*Will conspire.* Text reads $\dot{\upsilon}\pi\alpha\kappa o\acute{\upsilon}\sigma o\nu\tau\alpha\iota$ which goes back to יקשיבו. This I take to be corrupt for יִקְשְׁרוּ = $\sigma\upsilon\sigma\tau\rho\acute{\epsilon}\psi o\nu\tau\alpha\iota$, "will conspire." If, however, with $b\,d\,g$ A$^{-b}$ we here add $\tau\hat{\omega}$ $\Lambda\epsilon\upsilon\acute{\iota}$, we can retain $\dot{\upsilon}\pi\alpha\kappa o\acute{\upsilon}\sigma o\nu\tau\alpha\iota$ and translate "will obey Levi." But this makes poor sense with what follows: "will obey Levi to attend constantly on the sons of Levi, etc."

7. *Levi* ($\alpha\,\beta$-$\alpha\,f$ $S^1$). $f$ A read "the sons of Levi."

*Sin with them in all things.* According to T. Levi x. 2 Levi was to lead Israel astray.

*The sons of Judah will be covetous,* etc. Cf. T. Judah xxi. 6, 7.

8. *Therefore.* $\alpha\,\beta$ A $S^1$ read "and therefore."

*Ye shall be led away.* Cf. T. Lev. x. 4; T. Zeb. ix. 6. A reads "ye shall go."

[*With them.*] I have bracketed these words as an addition of the interpolator who added 6-7.

*Plagues of Egypt.* This phrase appears to have a general application here.

*Evils of the Gentiles.* Cf. T. Zeb. ix. 6; T. Naph. iv. 2.

9. And so when ye return to the Lord ye shall obtain mercy,
   And He shall bring you into His sanctuary,
   And He shall give you peace.
10. And there shall arise unto you from the tribe of [Judah and of] Levi the salvation of the Lord;
   And he shall make war against Beliar,
   And execute an everlasting vengeance on our enemies;
11. And the captivity shall he take from Beliar [the souls of the saints],
   And turn disobedient hearts unto the Lord,
   And give to them that call upon him eternal peace.

9. *So.* A reads "after these things."

*When ye return to the Lord ye shall obtain mercy.* Cf. T. Zeb. ix. 7.

*Ye shall obtain mercy.* A reads "He shall have mercy upon you."

*He shall bring you*, etc. Cf. T. Judah xxiii. 5; T. Iss. vi. 3; T. Ash. vii. 7.

*He shall give you peace.* Cf. Haggai ii. 9 "In this place I will give you peace." *b* reads "proclaiming unto you peace," with which compare Jer. xxxiv. 8; 1 En. lxxi. 17.

10. *And there shall arise . . . the salvation of the Lord.* Cf. T. Levi xviii. 3; T. Jud. xxiv. 1; T. Zeb. ix. 8; T. Gad viii. 1; T. Jos. xix. 11.

*The tribe of* [*Judah and*] *Levi.* I have bracketed "Judah and," for if these words were original we should have "*tribes* of Judah and Levi," or rather "tribes of Levi and Judah." Cf. T. Sim. vii. 1; T. Gad viii. 1; T. Jos. xix. 11. Levi is always placed before Judah (see note on Reub. vi. 5-12) except in the present passage, which we see is secondary, and in T. Gad viii. 1 which we must regard either as corrupt or interpolated. Thus the original text here teaches the derivation of the Messiah from Levi as T. Reub. vi. 7-12; T. Levi viii. 14, xviii.; T. Jud. xxiv. 1-3 (T. Naph. iv. 5?); T. Jos. xix. 5-9. The Messiah is said to be sprung from Judah in the first century B.C. passage T. Jud. xxiv. 5-6, and in the corrupt passage in T. Naph. viii. 2.

*Make war against Beliar.* Cf. T. Levi. xviii. 12.

*Execute an everlasting vengeance on our enemies.* Here text reads: *τὴν ἐκδίκησιν τοῦ νίκους δώσει τοῖς πατράσιν* (*b* *πέρασιν*) *ἡμῶν* (*d.f* read *ὑμῶν*, A *αὐτοῦ*). It is obvious that *πέρασιν* in *b* is an emendation, but a bad one, due to misunderstanding the Semitic idiom in *ἐκδίκησιν δώσει*, נתן נקמה "to execute vengeance." *πατράσιν* then, is clearly corrupt, but the origin of the corruption becomes manifest on retranslation: it=אבותינו corrupt for אויבינו =*τοῖς πολεμίοις ἡμῶν*. Thus the line is restored into perfect parallelism with the preceding one. Furthermore, *ἐκδίκησιν τοῦ νίκους*=נקמת נצח, which had better be rendered as above.

11. *The captivity*, etc. Cf. T. Zeb. ix. 8 (*b d g*). I have bracketed "the souls of the saints" as a Christian addition. The captives of Beliar have as their parallel expression "disobedient hearts." Hence they are here to be understood as those enslaved through sin to him.

*Turn disobedient hearts*, etc. Cf. Luke i. 17 *ἐπιστρέψαι . . . ἀπειθεῖς ἐν φρονήσει δικαίων.*

12. And the saints shall rest in Eden,
And in the New Jerusalem will the righteous rejoice,
And it shall be unto the glory of God for ever.
13. And no longer shall Jerusalem endure desolation,
Nor Israel be led captive;
For the Lord shall be in the midst of it [living amongst men],
And the Holy One of Israel shall reign over it [in humility and in poverty; and he who believeth on Him shall reign amongst men in truth].

VI. And now, fear the Lord, my children, and beware

12. *The saints shall rest in Eden.* According to T. Levi xviii. 10 the Messiah from Levi will open the gates of Paradise to the righteous.

*The New Jerusalem* (*b g* A $S^1$). *c* reads "the kingdom of J.," *h i* "the New Holy J.," *d* "the holy and righteous J.," *e f* "the holy and (*f.* om.) New J." The reading of *c* is inexplicable here, but the epithet "holy" in *h i d e f* may have arisen from חדש being written a second time corruptly as קדוש. So far as I am aware this is the first time this expression ("the New Jerusalem") is found in Jewish literature. The idea is clearly set forth in 1 En. xc. 29, where God Himself is described as the builder of the New Jerusalem and it is symbolically called "the new house." This expectation is derived from OT. prophecy. Ezek. xl.–xlviii.; Is. liv. 11, 12, lx. 1. The expression New Jerusalem recurs in Rev. iii. 12, xxi. 2. Its equivalent "the Jerusalem that is above" occurs in Gal. iv. 26 and in Rabbinical writings. See my Apoc. Bar. iv. 3 note, Volz, *Jüdische Eschatologie*, 338.

But the question arises: is the New Jerusalem to be identified with the Eden that precedes or the Jerusalem that is mentioned in the next verse? I am inclined to take the latter view. God dwells in the Jerusalem of ver. 12, which has thereby become the New Jerusalem.

*And it shall be*, etc. (*β-a d* A $S)^1$. *a* reads "which is the eternal glory of God."

13. *No longer shall Jerusalem*, etc. The New Jerusalem should not suffer as the Old Jerusalem: cf. T. Levi xvi. 4; T. Judah xxiii. 3.

[*Living* (συναναστρεφόμενος) *with men.*] I have bracketed this clause as a Christian interpolation.

*In humility and poverty.* This expression could not be used of God though it could be used of the Jewish Messiah (see T. Judah xxiv. 1 note) if we might regard ταπείνωσις and πτωχεία as dittographic renderings of ענוה.

*Amongst men in truth* (*a*). *β*-a $S^1$ read "in truth in the heavens."

VI. 1-7. This section is self-contained. It deals with the spiritual forces arrayed on the sides of the kingdoms of God and of Satan and their relation to Israel. These forces are engaged in a deadly strife, and the kingdom of evil is doomed to destruction if Israel truly repents (1-2, 4). Hence Satan seeks to destroy through sin those who return to God (3). Thereupon a time of lawlessness comes and God forsakes Israel (6), but Israel cannot fall away utterly, because it is ethically and spiritually strengthened by the angel of peace, who is the greatest of all the angels (6). Thus the ultimate redemption of Israel is assured.

From the above it follows that the text of *h i β-a d* A μετελεύσεται ἐπὶ ἔθνη is corrupt, as there is no question here of God's forsaking Israel wholly and going to the Gentiles. Here *c* alone preserves the singular, and the

of Satan and his spirits. 2. Draw near unto God and to the angel that intercedeth for you, for he is a mediator between God and man, and for the peace of Israel he shall stand up against the kingdom of the enemy. 3. Therefore is the enemy eager to destroy all that call upon the Lord. 4. For he knoweth that on the day on which Israel shall repent, the kingdom of the enemy shall be brought to an end. 5. For the very angel of peace shall strengthen

clause in fact deals with the conversion of Israel. See note on ver. 6.

2. *Draw* (*a β-b d*). *b d* read "and draw."

*That intercedeth for you* (*τῷ παραιτουμένῳ ὑμᾶς β-d*). *d* $S^1$ are here corrupt. *a* reads *παρεπομένῳ ὑμῖν* (*ἡμᾶς h i*). Cf. T. Levi v. 6. A = *συγγινώσκει*, but this may be a mistranslation of *παραιτεῖται* (*παραίτησις* in late Greek means "forgiveness"), and so A would support *β-d*. Here all the variants may be derived ultimately from פונע לכם. See note on a parallel passage in T. Lev. v. 6. Since *a* has *παρεπόμενος* in both passages, and similarly *β-d παραιτούμενος*, it is reasonable to infer that the same Hebrew phrase stood originally in both.

*Mediator between God and man.* This phrase is adopted by St. Paul in 1 Tim. ii. 5. This conception of Michael can be understood in part from the fact that Michael was regarded as the Mediator of the Law, Jub. i. 29; Apoc. Mos. (Ed. Tischendorf p. 1), Midrash on the death of Moses, Jellinek Bet ha-Midrash vi. 75; Jalk. Chad. f. 120 (see Lueken, *Michael* 18 sq.); and from his being a high priest in the sixth heaven. See note on T. Levi iii. 5; Lueken, *Michael* pp. 30-31.

This office of mediator was subsequently, about the beginning of the Christian era, assigned to Moses, who in Ass. Mos. i. 14 is called "the mediator of His covenant," and iii. 12 "a mediator unto us (Israel)." In the Bamidbar rab. sect. 3. 254$^d$ God said to Moses: "Thou wast the mediator (סָרְסוֹר) between Me and My children (in the giving of the law)." For similar passages see Levy's *Neuhebräisches Wörterbuch* iii. 595, 596.

*Will stand up against the kingdom of the enemy* (*κατέναντι τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ ἐχθροῦ στήσεται b g* (A) $S^1$). A corruptly reads *ἔχθρας τῶν βασιλέων*, an obvious corruption of the *b g* $S^1$ text. Here *κατέναντι στήσεται* = יעמוד בפני. *a d e f* read "will stand up before the kingdom of God" (*κατέναντι τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ θεοῦ στήσεται*). Has אֵל arisen from אוֹיֵב? Before *κατέναντι β-a b* A $S^1$ insert *καί* against *a b*.

3. *The Lord.* A reads "the name of the Lord."

4. *Repent* (*ἐπιστρέψει*—*a*). *ἐπιστρέψει* here = יָשׁוּב. *β* $S^1$ read "believe" (*πιστεύσει* or *πιστεύσῃ*). A is corrupt, but it is a corruption of *β* $S^1$. There are thus two independent texts. It was a well-known Rabbinic view that if all Israel repented redemption would follow. Cf. Pesikt. 163$^b$, Sanh. 97$^b$, 98$^a$, Jer. Taanith 63$^d$. See Ass. Mos. i. 18, Weber$^2$, *Jud. Theologie*, 348, 353; Bousset, *Rel. des Judenth.* 369 sqq.; Volz 112 sq.; Baldensperger$^3$, *Messianisch.-Apok. Hoffnungen des Judenth.* 217 sqq. If we accept the reading "believe," "belief" must be taken to mean not merely an intellectual acceptance of certain doctrines but an ethical change of attitude involving obedience to the law and personal devotion to God. On "repentance" see also T. Zeb. ix. 7; T. Gad v. 5, vii. 5; T. Ash. i. 6.

5. *For. b f* $S^1$ om.

*Angel of peace.* Cf. T. Ash. vi. 6; T. Benj. vi. 1; 1 En. xl. 8, lii. 5, liii. 4, liv. 4, lvi. 2, lx. 24. See the note on the identity of this angel on T. Lev. v. 6.

*Strengthen Israel.* *c* reads "convert I. and strengthen." Possibly this is right.

Israel, that it fall not into the extremity of evil. 6. And it shall be in the time of the lawlessness of Israel, that the Lord will (not) depart from them, but will transform them into a nation that doeth His will, for none of the angels will be equal unto him. 7. And His name shall be in every place of Israel, ⌜and among the Gentiles⌝.

8. Keep, therefore, yourselves, my children, from every evil work,
And cast away wrath and all lying,
And love truth and long-suffering.

9. And the things which ye have heard from your father, do ye ⌜also⌝ impart to your children [that the Saviour of the Gentiles may receive you; for he is true and long-suffering, meek and lowly, and teacheth by his works the

*That it fall not*, etc. (*μὴ ἐμπεσεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς τέλος κακῶν*). Cf. T. Levi v. 6 where the same phrase recurs.

6. This verse is corrupt and defective. As we have seen in the note on 1-6 above, it should deal with the restoration of Israel. There are two ways of recovering the original, accordingly as we assume or deny the loss of one or more clauses after the words "depart from them." i. First, if we assume such a loss, the clauses in question would refer to Israel's repentance and then would follow the words in the text, "And it will become a nation, etc." For *μετελεύσεται* (*μεταστραφήσεται d*) *ἐπὶ ἔθνει* is a bad rendering of יהפך לגוי, which should be translated either "will become a nation" or actively "will transform (them) into a nation." ii. But if we simply restore the negative before "depart," the text is complete as it stands: "the Lord will (not) depart from them but will transform them into a nation, etc." In any case the restoration of Israel is due so far as secondary causes are concerned to the good offices of the angel of peace, who is greater than all the other angels.

(*Not*). Restored. See preceding note.

*But* (*καὶ—α* A). *β* $S^1$ om.

*Will transform.* *α β d* A $S^1$ read *μετελεύσεται*, *d* *μεταστραφήσεται*. These go back to יהפך="will transform" or "will become." See last note but two.

*Into a nation that doeth.* *c* reads *ἐπ' ἔθνη* (sic for *ἔθνει*) *ζητοῦντι*, *h i β* A *ἐπὶ ἔθνη ποιοῦντα*. *c* is right in reading the singular, but for *ζητοῦντι* we should read *ποιοῦντι*, for this latter=עֹבֵר, which was apparently corrupted into בֹּעֶה=*ζητοῦντι*.

7. *Shall be* (*β* A $S^1$). *α* om.

*In every place of Israel.* A reads "in every land and in Israel."

*Gentiles.* *β* $S^1$ add "Saviour," a Christian addition.

8. *Wrath and all lying* (*β* $S^1$). *α* reads "wrath and lying," A "lying and all wrath."

9. *That in sorrow . . . you*, etc. A Christian interpolation, in their present form at any rate.

*For he is true and long-suffering.* These words might refer to Dan, for he has been teaching the evils of lying and anger, or to the Messiah who was to spring from Levi. See v. 10 note, but it is safest to bracket them as an interpolation. The final clause is Jewish.

*Meek and lowly.* These words could be used of the Jewish Messiah. See T. Jud. xxiv. 1 note.

*God* (*α*). *β* A $S^1$ read "the Lord."

*Teaching through works the law of God.* This is Jewish. It might also be an early Jewish Christian addition.

law of God]. 10. Depart, therefore, from all unrighteousness, and cleave unto the righteousness of God, and your race will be saved for ever. 11. And bury me near my fathers.

VII. And when he had said these things he kissed them, and fell asleep at a good old age. 2. And his sons buried him. And after that they carried up ⌜his bones⌝, and placed them near Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob. 3. [Nevertheless, ⌜Dan⌝ prophesied unto them that they should forget their God, and should be alienated from the land of their inheritance ⌜and from the race of Israel⌝, and from the family of ⌜†their seed.†⌝]

10. *Righteousness of.* $\beta$ $S^1$ add "the law of."

*God.* *b* $A^{cefg}$ read "the Lord,"

*And your race*, etc. *b* om.

VII. 1. *Fell asleep at a good old age.* Emended from *c* (*ὕπνῳ καλῷ*) which reads "fell asleep in a good sleep." Here as in T. Zeb. x. 6 (see note) שינה is a corruption of שיבה. $\beta$ A $S^1$ read *ὕπνον αἰώνιον* = שינת עולם, which may be a corruption of *c* שינה טובה.

*And placed* (*f* (*d g*) $A^{abb*defg}$ $S^1$). *a* $\beta$-*d f g* $A^c$ om.

3. The Testament proper closes with ver. 2, as a comparison of the other Testaments shows. This verse is the addition of a later hand.

*Nevertheless.* *b* $S^1$ add "as."

*Their God* (*a* $S^1$). *b d* A read "the law of their God."

†*Their seed* (*τοῦ σπέρματος αὐτῶν*). (*a a d e f* $S^1$ save that *a d e f* $S^1$ prefix *καί*). $\beta$ reads "so it came to pass"; *d* "which also came upon them." *τοῦ σπέρματος αὐτῶν* may be a corruption for *τὸ σπέρμα αὐτῶν*. Then we might translate, "and their seed from the race of Israel and family." Or, in case this addition was made in the Hebrew text, ורעם which *τοῦ σπέρματος αὐτῶν* presupposes may be corrupt for יורו = *διασπαρήσονται*.

# THE TESTAMENT OF NAPHTALI, THE EIGHTH SON OF JACOB AND BILHAH

I. THE copy of the testament of Naphtali, which he ordained at the time of his death in the hundred and thirtieth year of his life. 2. When his sons were gathered together in the seventh month, on the first day of the month, while still in good health, he made then a feast of food and wine. 3. And after he was awake in the morning, he said to them, I am dying; and they believed him not. 4. And as he glorified the Lord, he grew strong and said that after yesterday's feast he should die. 5. And he began then to say: Hear, my children, ye sons of Naphtali, hear the words of your father. 6. I was born from Bilhah; ⌜and⌝ because Rachel dealt craftily, and gave Bilhah

TITLE. *a* in text. *b e f* A$^{acf}$ read "Testament of Naphtali (+ eighth *b*) concerning natural goodness"; *d* conflates the two; *a* "Naphtali."

I. 1. *Hundred and thirtieth* (*h a e f* A $S^1$). *c g* read "hundredth," *b d* "hundred and thirty-second." The Midrash Tadshe gives "hundred and thirty-third." See my edition of Jub. xxviii. 11-24 note.

2. *While still in good health* (*β-d g* A $S^1$). *a* om.

*A feast of food and wine* (δεῖπνον καὶ κωθῶνα—*β-d g* A $S^1$). *a* omits καὶ κωθῶνα.

4. *Glorified* (*a*). *β* A $S^1$ read "blessed."

*Grew strong and said* (ἐκραταιώθη καὶ εἶπεν—*a*). *β* $S^1$ read "affirmed" ἐκραταίωσεν, A "grew strong, reflecting."

*He should die* (*β* $S^1$). *a* reads "his body died," A "I should die." Yet according to viii. 9 he eats and drinks again with a merry heart, but the words may refer to i. 2.

5. *And he began* (*a d* A). *β-d g* read "he began therefore." $S^1$ omits this verse.

*To say.* *b* adds "to his sons," A "to them."

6. *Rachel dealt craftily.* There is a paronomasia on the name Naphtali in these words; for ἐν πανουργίᾳ ἐποίησε Ῥαχήλ = נפתלה רחל, the same play on Naphtali is found in Gen. xxx. 8, but a different meaning belongs there to נפתלתי according to all the versions and Jos. *Ant.* i. 19. 8.

in place of herself to Jacob, and she conceived and bare me upon Rachel's knees, ⌜therefore she called my name Naphtali. 7. For Rachel loved me very much because I was born upon her lap⌝; and when I was still young she was wont to kiss me, and say: May I have a brother of thine from mine own womb, like unto thee. 8. Whence also Joseph was like unto me ⌜in all things⌝, according to the prayers of Rachel. 9. Now my mother was Bilhah, daughter of Rotheus the brother of Deborah, Rebecca's nurse, who was born on one and the self-same day with Rachel. 10. And Rotheus was of the family of Abraham, a Chaldean, God-fearing, free-born, and noble. 11. And he was taken captive and was bought by Laban; and he gave him Euna his handmaid to wife, and she bore a daughter, and called her name Zilpah, after the name of the village in which he had been taken captive. 12. And next she bore Bilhah, saying: My daughter hastens after what is new, for immediately that she was born she seized the breast and hastened to suck it.

*Conceived . . . knees* (*a*). *β* $S^1$ read "she bare me upon Rachel's lap," A "I was born on Rachel's lap."

*And therefore* (*c*). *h i β* $S^1$ read "therefore."

*He called my name* (*a*). *β-g* $S^1$ read "I was called."

7. *For* (*a*). *β-g* $S^1$ read "and."

*Very much* (*a*). *β-g* $S^1$ om.

*Knees* (*a*). *β-g* $S^1$ read "lap."

*May I have* (*δοίη μοι*). So A and so I emend *a* *ἴδει* (*ιδη h i*) *μοι*, *β-g* $S^1$ *ἴδοιμι*. The idiom is Semitic יתן לי. But possibly *ἴδοιμι* is right, "May I see a brother of thine, etc."

8. *Prayers* (*εὐχάς b d* A). *a a e f* $S^1$ read "blessings" (*εὐλογίας*). Here we have a corruption of תפלת into תהלת.

9-11. The object of this verse is to show that Bilhah was of Semitic descent, being descended from the stock of Abraham. In later Jewish tradition, *i.e.* in Ps.-Jon. on Gen. xxix. 24, 29, Gen. rabba lxxiv. 14, Pirke R. El. xxxvi. she is represented as a daughter of Laban by a concubine.

11. *Euna* (*h i f*). *c* reads "Enan," *b e* "Ainan," *d* "Edna."

*Zilpah.* Here, as in Jub. xxviii. 9 and the authorities quoted in the note on 9-11, Zilpah is represented as a sister of Bilhah.

12. *Bilhah, saying, My daughter hastens after what is new* (Βάλλαν λέγων, *καινόσπουδός μου ἡ θυγάτηρ b e f* $S^1$) *a d g* are here defective. For *καινόσπουδος a* reads *καινοποιός* and A *καινοσπουδασμός*. In the original the Hebrew of this word evidently formed a play on the name Bilhah, *i.e.* נבהלה . . . בלהה. But the first element in the word *καινο-* is suspicious, and the next clause which is intended to explain it fails to do so. Indeed, the text would be clearer if we omitted "my daughter hastens after what is new."

*For . . . to suck it* (*b e f* $S^1$ save that *b* $S^1$ om. "seized the breast and"). A supports text but adds "of the mother" after "breast." *a a d g* om. This clause may be a later addition. It is, however, intelligible and could stand without the previous clause. Like the previous clause it contains in "hastened" = *ἔσπευδε* = נבהלה a play on בלהה.

II. And I was swift [on my feet] like the deer, and my father Jacob appointed me for all messages, and as a deer did he give me his blessing. 2. For as the potter knoweth the vessel, how much it is to contain, and bringeth clay accordingly, so also doth the Lord make the body after the likeness of the spirit, and according to the capacity of the body doth He implant the spirit. 3. And the one does not fall short of the other by a third part of a hair; for by weight, and measure, and rule was all the creation made. 4. And as the potter knoweth the use of each vessel, what it is meet for, so also doth the Lord know the body, how far it will persist in goodness, and when it beginneth in evil. 5. For there is no inclination or thought which the Lord knoweth not, for He created every man after His own image.

α

6. For as a man's strength, so also is his work; as his

*β-a g* A

6. As a man's strength, so also is his work; and as

II. 1. *And I was . . . and my father* (*a d*, save that for "on my feet" *d* reads "my children"). *β-d* A read "And since I was . . . my father" (A omitting "on my feet").

*Messages* (*a a e f*). *b d g* A read "errands and messages."

*As a deer did he give me his blessing.* See Gen. xlix. 21.

2. *Accordingly* (*πρὸς αὐτό h a e f*). *c d* read *πρὸς αὐτῷ*, which may be a corruption of the former. *πρὸς αὐτό* could mean to it, *i.e.* the vessel (*σκεῦος*), but it is better to take it as referring to the idea of the vessel in the mind of the potter.

3. *Third part.* A reads "a small part."

*By weight, and measure, and rule was all the creation made* (*σταθμῷ γὰρ καὶ μέτρῳ καὶ κανόνι πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις ἐγένετο—α*). For "was all the creation made," *b* A read "was every creature of the Most High" (*πᾶσα κτίσις ὑψίστου*) and *d e f* "was every creature exalted" (*ὑψοῦται*). Possibly נכונה (="was established," "prepared," cf. *ἐγένετο* in *α*), stood originally in the text. This could be corrupted into רמה (or הורמה)=*ὑψοῦται*. The winds are weighed and the waters measured, Job xxviii. 25; the mountains and hills, Is. xl. 12; the stars, 1 En. xliii. 2; even the world and the ages, 4 Ezra iv. 36 (in statera ponderavit saeculum, et mensura mensuravit tempora et numero numeravit tempora). In Wisd. xi. 20 we have almost a verbal parallel with our text: *πάντα μέτρῳ καὶ ἀριθμῷ καὶ σταθμῳ διέταξας*. Pss. Sol. v. 6: *ὅτι ἄνθρωπος καὶ ἡ μέρις αὐτοῦ παρὰ σου ἐν σταθμῷ*.

4. *What.* Text reads ὡς=מָה, which should have been rendered *τί*, "what."

*Beginneth in* (*ἄρχεται ἐν b d* A). *a e f* read *ἔρχεται ἐν*, "cometh."

*In evil.* A reads "the evil" in nominative.

5. *Inclination* (*πλάσμα*). Here *πλάσμα* as in Ps. cii. 14, Job ii. 18, Is. xxix. 16 renders יֵצֶר, though it has here its later meaning. See T. Ash. i. 3 note.

*Created . . . after His own image.* Gen. i. 26, 27; Sir. xvii. 3. So far as I am aware our author and Sirach are the first to quote Gen. i. 27.

†eye, so also is his sleep; as his soul, so also is his word either in the law of the Lord or in the law of Beliar. his mind, so also is his skill; ⌜and as his purpose, so also is his achievement; and as his heart, so also is his mouth;⌝ as his †eye, so also is his sleep; as his soul, so also is his word, either in the law of the Lord or in the works of Beliar.

7. And as there is a division between light and darkness, between seeing and hearing, so also is there a division between man and man, and between woman and woman; and it is not to be said that the one is like the other either in face or in mind. 8. ⌜For⌝ God made all things good in their order, the five senses in the head, and He joined on the neck to the head, adding to it the hair also for comeliness and glory, then the heart for understanding, the belly for excrement, and the stomach for grinding, the windpipe for taking in (the breath), the liver

6. *As his †eye, so also is his sleep.* Something is wrong. In the first three of the Hebrew passages quoted in the note on ver. 8, the maw or digestive stomach is connected with sleep (קיבה לשנה). Hence עיניו may be corrupt for קיבתו.

*And as his soul, so also is his word.* This looks like a dittography of "and as his heart, so also is his mouth."

*Law of the Lord or on the law of Beliar.* Cf. T. Levi xix. 1.

*Works* (ἔργοις A). This reading is supported by T. Levi xix. 1. *a b d e f* read "law" (νόμον).

7. *And man, and between woman.* *a* om.

*And it is not to be said that one is like the other in face or in mind.* So $A^{ab*cde}$ by a change of "mioi" into "min" as in $A^b$. $A^b$="And one is not like the other in face or mind." All the Greek MSS are corrupt. All these and $S^1$ read "And it is not to be said that," but the remaining words are untranslatable. *a* reads ἐν τῷ ἐνὶ τοῖς προσώποις ἠττόμενον (*sic* ητουμενος *h i*), ἦν. *e f* ἐν τῷ ἐνὶ τοῖς προσώποις ἤττων ητουν (ἤττον ἤγουν *f*) ὅμοιον. *b d* present further corruptions.

8. *The five senses.* See note on T. Reub. ii. 3–iii. 1.

*And He joined on the neck to the head* (β A). *a* $S^1$ om.

*Adding to it the hair also for comeliness and glory* (*a a d e f* $S^1$). *b* A read "the hair also for glory."

*Then.* A reads "and."

*Then the heart for understanding,* etc. With this enumeration of man's powers and faculties we might compare the following lists: Berakh 61 $^{a\,b}$:—

תנו רבנן כליות יועצות לב מבין לשון מחתך
פה נומר ושם מכנים ומוציא כל מיני מאכל
קנה מוציא קול ריאה שאבת כל מיני משקין
כבד כועס מרה וורקת בו טפה ומניחתו טחול
שוחק קרקבן מוחן קיבה ישנה אף נעור:

for wrath, the gall for bitterness, the spleen for laughter, the reins [for prudence, the muscles of the loins] for power,

"*The reins advise, the heart understands*, the tongue determines, the mouth completes, the gullet takes in and sends forth all kinds of food, *the windpipe* sends forth the voice, the *lungs absorb* all kinds of liquids, *the liver wrathful*, *the gall* sprinkles on it a drop and quiets it, *the spleen laughs*, the stomach grinds, the maw (causeth) sleep, the nose wakefulness."

The underlined phrases in the above list are found also in our text. The next two lists are from the Othioth of "R. Akiba" (ed. Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrasch* iii. 42, 43 and the fourth from the late Hebrew T. Naph. x. 6:

לא בראת ראש אלא לכבוד . . . עינים אלא לראות . . אזנים אלא לשמוע . . וחוטם להריח לחיים להטעים טעמי מאכל שניים לשוחקות ושם להבליע קנה למשוך ולהוציא

לב להבין בינה הכליות ליעץ ריאה לשאוב כבד לכעוס מרה לזרוק טחול לשחוק

כרס לריעה קורקבן להטחינה קיבה לשינה

ניקבה לצואה אבר קטן להשתין ולהוציא זרע

גידין לרמים עור לתואר ידים למלאכה ולמלחמה רגלים להלך ולשון לשיחה ולדיבור:

*Ibid.* iii. 35:—

לב סבין רעת וחבונה כליות יועצות עצות טובות ורעות פה מחתך בכל מיני מאכלות לשון גומר כל מיני שיחות חיך טועם כל ממעמי מאכלות קנה משוך ומוציא כל רוחות וקלות

ושם בולע כל מיני מאכל ומשקה ריאה שואבת כל מיני משקין כבד כועס ומרה זורקת בו מ׳פה ומניחתו טחול שוחק כל מיני שחיקות קורקבן שוחק כל מיני אחילות קיבה ישנה

T. Naph. *ad fin.*:—

מאזניו ישמע ומעיניו יבים וממוחו יבין ומדומטו יריח . ומקניהו יוציא קול ומוושטו יכנים מאכל ומשתה ומלשוני יבר . ובפיו יגמור בידיו יעשה מלאכתו . ובלבו יחשוב . ובטחולו ישחק . ובכבידו יכעום . וקיבתו טוחנת . וברגליו יהולך . וריאה בריאה לנפש . ומכליותיו נעוץ:

A comparison of the above lists shows that the least helpful and the least nearly akin to our text is the last from the Hebrew Testament of Naphtali. We shall now deal with the various phrases as they arise.

*Heart for understanding* = לב להבין. This phrase is found thus in the first three Hebrew lists, and its equivalent in the fourth. It will be observed that the Hebrew T. Naph. gives two parallels in obviously later phraseology: ממוחו יבין, "with his brain he understands," and again "with his heart he reckons," בלבו יחשוב.

*The belly for excrement* (*κοιλίαν εἰς διαχώρησιν*). Thus I have emended *διάκρισιν* into *διαχώρησιν*, and the phrase so emended = כרס לריעה, which is found in "R. Akiba's" first list.

*The stomach for* (*grinding*) = *στόμαχον εἰς ἄλεσιν*. Thus I restore the text. *d* reads *στόμαχον εἰς*, all other MSS and A S *στομάχου*. The text is defective, but the loss can be made good by referring to "R. Akiba's" first list of the senses (see opp. col.), where קורקבן להטחינה, which follows immediately on the phrase dealt with in the last note, = *στόμαχον εἰς ἀλεσμόν*. The last word might have fallen out before *κάλαμον*. The above Hebrew phrase is found also in "R. Akiba's" second list and in the Talmudic list, but not in the Hebrew T. Naph.

*The windpipe for taking in.* The text here reads *κάλαμον πρὸς ὑγείαν*, which involves a mistranslation and a corruption. Thus our text = קנה לשלום, which, as we see from "R. Akiba's" lists, is corrupt for קנה למשוך = *λάρυγγα πρὸς εἴσπνοήν*. Here קנה, which can mean "reed," should have been rendered "windpipe." This is only part of the phrase; for if it were given completely we should read *λάρυγγα πρὸς εἴσπνοὴν καὶ ἐκπνοήν*, as in R. Akiba's lists קנה למשוך ולהוציא. On the other hand the first and fourth lists agree in reading קנה מוציא = *λάρυγξ ἐκπνεῶν*. Thus here again our text agrees with "Akiba's" lists against the Hebrew T. Naph. It is worth noticing that *ef* read *καὶ λαιμόν* for *κάλαμον*.

*The liver for wrath* = *ἦπαρ πρὸς θυμόν*

the lungs for drawing in, the loins for strength, and so forth. 9. So [then], my children, let all your works be done in order with good intent in the fear of God, and do nothing disorderly in scorn or out of its due season. 10. For if thou bid the eye to hear, it cannot; so neither while ye are in darkness can ye do the works of light.

=כבר לכעום. The Hebrew phrase is found in all the lists.

*The gall for bitterness* (χολὴν πρὸς πικρίαν=מרה למרה). Here the first and third Hebrew lists give "the gall sprinkles on it a drop and quiets it." As the second and fourth contain no reference to the gall, the Hebrew T. Naph. here again diverges from our text.

*The spleen for laughter*=σπλῆνα εἰς (πρὸς *c*) γέλωτα=מחול לשחוק. The Hebrew phrase is found in all the lists.

*The reins for prudence*=νεφροὺς εἰς πανουργίαν. Here πανουργία is taken in a good sense as in the LXX of Prov. i. 4, viii. 5. It is a rendering of עָרְמָה or else of עֵצָה. Cf. "R. Akiba's" first list הכליות ליעץ. The phrase in some form occurs in all the lists.

In "Akiba's" second list we find the statement, "The reins give good counsel and bad," and in Berakh. 61$^{a b}$ *ad fin.*, "There are two reins in man, one gives counsel to a good end, and the other counsel to a bad end." It is probable that the good is on his right, and the evil on his left; for we find that: "A wise man's heart is at his right hand; but a fool's at his left" (Eccles. x. 2). In connection with our text compare Job xxxviii. 36, "who hath put wisdom in the inward parts (בטחות)," where the Hebrew word was taken by Jewish interpreters as meaning "reins."

*The muscles of the loins for power* (ψύας εἰς δύναμιν). Not in any of the lists. ψύα may be a rendering of כֶּסֶל here. But the text possibly contains a dittography. See next phrase but one.

*The lungs for drawing in*=ריאה לשאוב, to which the corruptions in our MSS appear to point. This phrase, is found in "Akiba's" first list, and various forms of it in the other three. Our text, as I have observed, is very corrupt. *a* reads πλευρὰν εἰς τὸ καθεύδειν, *β-g* S$^1$ πλευρὰν (πλευράς *b d* S$^1$) εἰς θήκην, A εἰς τὸ τιθέναι ὀσφῦς. In A ὀσφῦς and πλευράς have been transposed. Here first of all πλευράς appears to be secondary to πλευράν. This latter (attested by *a a e f*), could easily be a corruption of πλεύμονα. *a* (corrected) then=πλεύμονα εἰς τὸ καθεύδειν=ריאה לשכוב, where לשכוב is corrupt for לשאוב. Thus we arrive at our translation as above. Next εἰς θήκην in *β-g* S$^1$ and εἰς τὸ τιθέναι in A point to לשום or להושיב.

The explanation of the phrase "drawing in" is found in Akiba's second list: "the lungs draw in all kinds of liquids" (כל מיני משקין).

*The loins for strength* (ὀσφὺν εἰς ἰσχύν). ὀσφύν here=מתנים or חלצים. The loins are the seat of strength. Cf. Deut. xxxiii. 11; 1 K. xii. 10; Prov. xxxi. 17.

9. *Let all your works be done in order* (*a β-b g* A). *b* S$^1$ read "be ye in order."

*Out of its due season.* Cf. 2 En. lxii. 3.

10. *To hear* (*β-a d* S$^1$). *a* A read "hear" an imperative.

*While . . . can ye do* (*a β-g* S$^1$). A reads "darkness cannot do."

*While in darkness . . . works of light.* Cf. John iii. 19 "Men loved darkness rather than light because their deeds were evil." Cf. Eph. v. 8 for the contrast of light and darkness: "for ye were sometime darkness but now are ye light."

*Works of light.* The expression "works of darkness" is familiar from St. Paul. Cf. Rom. xiii. 12; Eph. v. 11, but apparently St. Paul shuns the expression "works of light" and uses (Eph. v. 9) "the fruits of light" (ὁ καρπὸς τοῦ φωτός).

III. Be ye, therefore, not eager to corrupt your doings through covetousness or with vain words to beguile your souls; because if ye keep silence in purity of heart, ye shall understand how to hold fast the will of God, and to cast away the will of Beliar. 2. Sun and moon and stars change not their order; so do ye also change not the law of God in the disorderliness of your doings. 3. The Gentiles went astray, and forsook the Lord, and changed their order, and obeyed stocks and stones, spirits of deceit. 4. But ye shall not be so, my children, recognising in the firmament, in the earth, and in the sea, and in all created things, the Lord who made all things, that ye become not as Sodom, which changed the order of nature. 5. In like manner the Watchers also changed the order of their nature, whom the Lord cursed at the flood, on whose account He made the earth without inhabitant and fruitless.

IV. These things I say unto you, my children, for I

III. 1. *To corrupt your doings* (*h i* β S[1]). *c* reads "that your doings should be corrupted," A "to corrupt the earth with your doings."

*With vain words to beguile your souls* (*ἐν λόγοις κενοῖς ἀπατᾶν τὰς ψυχὰς ὑμῶν*). Reproduced by Eph. v. 6 *μηδεὶς ὑμᾶς ἀπατάτω κενοῖς λόγοις*. Observe also that as in the preceding clause in our text "covetousness" is condemned, so also in Eph. v. 5, and the further parallelism pointed out in ii. 10 (note).

*Keep silence* (*σιωπῶντες*). *d f* A read *σκοπῶντες*.

*Beliar* (α *d*). β-*d* A[ab] read "the devil."

2. With the subject of this verse cf. Sir. xvi. 26-28, xliii. 6 *sqq.*; 1 En. ii. 1; Pss. Sol. xviii. 11-14.

*Do not change* (*οὐκ ἀλλοιοῦσιν* β S[1]). α reads *οὐ καλύψουσι* and A *οὐ κωλύουσιν*, both of which seem to be corruptions of β.

3. *And obeyed stocks and stones* (α). β A S[1] read "And followed stones and stocks having followed after" ("even to follow after" A[ab*cd]). Possibly *ὑπήκουσαν* and *ἐπηκολούθησαν* are independent renderings of הלכו אחרי, or *ὑπήκουσαν* may be a corruption of *ἐπηκολούθησαν*. For the diction cf. Deut. iv. 28, xxviii. 36; Ezek. xx. 32. But probably we should read: "obeyed (*ὑπήκουσαν*) stocks and stones through having followed" (*ἐξακολουθήσαντες*).

4. *All things* (α *g*). *b* A S read "all these," *e f* "the universe."

*As Sodom.* Cf. iv. 1; T. Benj. ix. 1: also Jude 7; 2 Pet. ii. 6. It is noteworthy that Jude speaks also in ver. 6 of the fallen angels, as our author does here in the next verse.

5. *The Watchers.* Cf. 1 En. vi. sqq.

*Make the earth without inhabitants.* This phrase is found also in 1 En. ix. 2 (not in Greek), lxvii. 2, lxxxiv. 5. *ἀπὸ κατοικησίας* = ממושב. This Hebrew phrase was rendered again in the margin by *ἀοίκητον* by the translator or a reviser and subsequently incorporated into the text.

IV. This chapter, like T. Zeb. ix., apparently belongs to the times of the later Maccabeans. Its reference to Enoch is in itself suspicious (see T. Lev. x. 5 note), since such references occur for the most part in the 1st cent.

have read in the writing of Enoch that ye yourselves also shall depart from the Lord, walking according to all the lawlessness of the Gentiles, and ye shall do according to all the wickedness of Sodom. 2. And the Lord shall bring captivity upon you, and ⌜there⌝ shall ye serve your enemies, and ye shall be bowed down with every affliction and tribulation, until the Lord have consumed you all. 3. And after ye have become minished and made few, ye shall return and acknowledge the Lord your God; and He shall bring you back into your own land, according to His abundant mercy. 4. And it shall be, that after that they come into the land of their fathers, they shall again forget the Lord and become ungodly. 5. And the Lord shall scatter them upon the face of all the earth, until the compassion of the Lord shall come, a man working righteousness and working mercy unto all them that are afar off, and to them that are near.

V. For in the fortieth year of my life, I saw a vision on

sections. Again, the second apostasy mentioned in ver. 4 suits best the 1st cent., like the corresponding statement in T. Zeb. ix. 9.

IV. 1. *Unto you* ($a\beta$-$bg$ A). $bg$ $S^1$ omit.

*I have read* ($bdg$ A $S^1$). $aaef$ read "I have known."

*Writing.* $bg$ A read "holy writing."

*Of Enoch.* See T. Lev. x. 5 note.

*Lawlessness.* $bd$ read "wickedness," and for "wickedness" in the next clause reads "lawlessness."

2-3. These verses apparently refer to the Babylonian captivity and the Return.

2. *There.* $d$ A $S^1$ omit. But compare T. Dan v. 8.

*Serve your enemies.* Deut. xxviii. 48; Jer. xvii. 4; Neh. ix. 35-37.

*Bowed down* (= συγκαμφθήσεσθε A). $bg$ S read συγκαλυφθήσεσθε, "ye shall be covered," which is a corruption of the reading attested by A. The same corruption is found in the LXX in 2 K. iv. 35; Ps. lxix. 10. $aadef$ read συναναστραφήσεσθε, "ye shall dwell," which may go back to תִּשְׁכְּנוּ, a corruption of תִּכָּרְעוּ or תִּכָּנְעוּ (or תֻּשְׁחוּ. Cf. Ps. cvii. 39) = συγκαμφθήσεσθε.

*Trouble and affliction.* Cf. T. Zeb. ix. 6; T. Dan v. 8; Ps. cvii. 39.

3. *Become minished and made few* ($\beta$ A $S^1$). $a$ reads "made few." Cf. Ps. cvii. 39.

*He shall bring them back*, etc. Cf. 2 Chron. vi. 25; T. Zeb. ix. 7.

4. *They shall again forget the Lord.* Cf. T. Zeb. ix. 9. This renewed apostasy is that under Antiochus Epiphanes, or the later Maccabees.

5. *The compassion of the Lord.* $A^{ab}$ reads "the Lord," $A^{b*cd}$ "the Lord with compassion." Cf. T. Zeb. ix. 7.

*A man working righteousness.* Is this the Messiah of the Maccabean family? If this chapter is first century B.C. then the Messiah is to be sprung from Judah.

*That are afar off*, etc. Is. lvii. 19.

V.–VII. In this section the attitude towards the tribe of Joseph is that of extreme hostility. Possibly it

the Mount of Olives, on the east of Jerusalem, that the sun and the moon were standing still. 2. And behold Isaac, the father of my father, said to us: Run and lay hold of them, each one according to his strength; ⌜and to him that seizeth them will the sun and moon belong⌝. 3. And we all of us ran together, and Levi laid hold of the sun, and Judah outstripped the others and seized the moon, and they were both of them lifted up with them. 4. And when Levi became as a sun, ⌜lo⌝, a certain young man gave to him twelve branches of palm; and Judah was bright as the moon, and under their feet were twelve rays. [5. And the two, Levi and Judah, ran, and laid hold of them.] 6. And lo, a bull upon the earth, with two great horns, and an eagle's wings upon his back; and we wished to seize him, but could not. 7. But Joseph came, and seized him, and ascended up with him on high. 8. And I saw, for I was

reflects Jewish hatred of Samaria. The Samaritans, as we are aware, claimed to belong to the tribe of Joseph (Ber. rabba 94 on Gen. xlvi. 13; Joseph. *Ant.* ix. 14. 3, xi. 8. 6).

V. 1-5. The details of this vision are quite unintelligible. This vision is found also in the late Heb. T. Naph. ii., which, however, throws but little light on our text. Our text seems wholly disarranged.

1. *A vision* (α). β A $S^1$ omit.

*Still.* A adds "and we all ran towards (them)."

2-3. Cf. Heb. T. Naph. ii. 2-4, where the sun, moon, and nine stars are mentioned. This symbolism may be drawn from Gen. xxxvii. 9.

2. *Said* (α A). β $S^1$ read "saith."

4. This obscure verse is differently given in Heb. T. Naph. ii. 4-6.

*Their feet* (α *a e f*). *b d* A $S^1$ read "his feet."

5. The translation follows *c* save that I have omitted ὅτε after οἱ δύο. β A $S^1$ read: "And Levi and Judah ran to each other and laid hold of each other." I have bracketed the verse as an obvious dittography of ver. $3^{abc}$.

6-8. In the Heb. T. Naph. the connection of this section with what precedes is clearer. In that Testament (ch. ii.) whilst Levi and Judah and the remaining nine of Joseph's brothers seize on the sun and moon and nine stars Joseph holds aloof, but finally (ch. iii.) mounts a great bull and rides it for four hours — which possibly symbolise the 400 years from the occupation of Canaan to the division of the kingdoms. Finally a mighty storm arises (iii. 12)—the destruction of the northern and southern kingdoms, and the tribes were so dispersed that no two remained together.

It is noteworthy that whereas this vision in this Rabbinic Testament closes with the Captivity of Israel and Judah, our text in ver. 8 carries the history down to the domination of Israel by Syria. But this verse may be an independent fragment.

6. *A bull . . . having two great horns.* The diction is suggested by Deut. xxxiii. 17.

*Eagle's wings.* "Like the wings of a stork," according to Heb. T. Naph. iii. 1.

7. *But* (α A). β $S^1$ read "for."

*Came and seized* (α). β reads "got ahead and took," A $S^1$ "took."

8. This verse, as we have observed above (note on 6-8), must have been

there, and behold a holy writing appeared to us, saying: Assyrians, Medes, Persians, [Chaldeans,] Syrians, shall possess in captivity the twelve tribes of Israel.

VI. And again, after seven days, I saw our father Jacob standing by the sea of Jamnia, and we were with him. 2. And, behold, there came a ship sailing by, without sailors or pilot; and there was written upon the ship, The ship of Jacob. 3. And our father saith to us: Come let us embark on our ship. 4. And when we had gone on board, there arose a vehement storm, and a mighty tempest of wind; and our father, who was holding the helm, departed from us. 5. And we, being tost with the tempest, were

written before Rome intervened in the affairs of Palestine in the first century B.C. The list of countries to which Palestine was successively subject is very corrupt. If the omission of the Egyptian hegemony is genuine it would point to a comparatively early date.

*For I was there* (ὅτι ἤμην παρεκεῖ—*a*). So practically *β-d* S$^1$ ὅτι ἤμην (+παρών, *a e f*) ἐκεῖ (+που, *b g* S$^1$). *d* A point to a different text. *d* reads ὅτι ἤμεν ἐν κήποις, "for we were in paradise." The plural "we" harmonises with the words that follow, and these seem to indicate that this was a vision witnessed by all the sons of Jacob. If this is so, this verse does not belong to its present context. A reads αὐτὸν ὅτι ἦν ἐν τῇ παραδείσῳ, which in its present context means, "I saw Joseph in Paradise." This, of course, is corrupt, but A, on the whole, supports *d*.

*Assyrians.* The list in A is "Asiatics and Parthians (+"Persians," A$^{b*cd}$), and Elamites, Assyrians, and Galatians." S$^1$ "Assyrians, Medes, Persians, Allophyli, Cheroulkians, Chaldæans, Syrians." As these lists are very corrupt, we shall confine our attention mainly to the evidence of the Greek MSS.

*Persians.* *β* adds "Elamites, Gelachians" ("Chelkæans," *a e f*.) The second addition here seems to be a dittography of "Chaldæans."

[*Chaldæans*]. I have bracketed this name as an interpolation. If it is genuine it should be restored before "Medes." Nabopolassar (625-605 B.C.) invaded Assyria and destroyed Nineveh. Nabopolassar was a Chaldean, and from that time Chaldea meant Babylonia.

*In captivity* (*a b e* A S$^1$). *a d f* read "the captivity."

VI. 1. *And.* *a e f* om.

*Days* (*a*). *β* A$^{ab}$ S$^1$ read "months."

*Sea of Jamnia.* The form ימנה for יבנה (2 Chron. xxvi. 6) is found in the Jerusalem Talmud (*Encyc. Bib.* ii. 2327. This city was situated between Ekron and the sea.

*We.* *β* A S$^1$ add "his sons."

2. *Sailing by.* *β* A add "full of salt fish," μεστὸν ταρίχων, which, as Dr. Gaster has pointed out, =מלא מלוחים, a corrupt dittography of בלא מלחים= ἐκτὸς ναύτων, the phrase which follows. Here *a* in omitting this absurd phrase is supported not only by the context but also by Heb. T. Naph. iv. 2.

*Pilot* (*β-f* A S$^1$). *a f* read "pilots."

*Was written on the ship* (*c* A S$^1$). *h i β* read "the ship was inscribed."

3. *Come let us embark* (*a*). *β* A S$^1$ read "let us embark."

4. *Mighty tempest of wind* (*a a e f* A$^{ef}$). *b d* S$^1$ read "a tempest of mighty wind." A$^{abb*cd}$ omit according to printed text.

*Departed from us* (ἀφίσταται—*a β-b g* S$^1$). *b* reads ἐφήπταται, *g* A ἀφίπταται (="flew away from us"). The Heb. T. Naph. v. 1 reads ויתעלם מעלינו (="was hidden from us"), which we might explain as a corruption of ויעלה (or מעלינו) ויתעלה=ἀφίσταται.

borne along over the sea; and the ship was filled with water, (and was) pounded by mighty waves, until it was broken up. 6. And Joseph fled away upon a little boat, ⌜and we all were divided upon nine planks,⌝ and Levi and Judah were together. 7. And we were all scattered unto the ends of the earth. 8. Then Levi, girt about with sackcloth, prayed for us all unto the Lord. 9. And when the storm ceased, the ship reached the land, ⌜as it were⌝ in peace. 9. And, lo, our father came, and we all rejoiced with one accord.

VII. These two dreams I told to my father; and he said to me: These things must be fulfilled in their season, after that Israel hath endured many things.

2. Then my father saith unto me: I believe God that Joseph liveth, for I see ⌜always⌝ that the Lord numbereth him with you. 3. And he said, weeping: Ah me, my son, Joseph, thou livest, though I behold thee not, and thou seest not Jacob that begat thee. 4. He caused me also, therefore, to weep by these words, and I burned in my heart to declare that ⌜Joseph⌝ had been sold, but I feared my brethren.

VIII. And lo! my children, I have shown unto you the

5. *Pounded by mighty waves* (*ἐν τρικυμίαις περιρησσόμενον—β-d f* A $S^1$). *α* reads *φερόμενοι*. Heb. T. Naph. v. 5 reads "and the waves of the sea smote it (היכוה) [to the rock]." If the words "to the rock" which I have bracketed are genuine, then the verb (היכוה) must be corrupt. Perhaps our text= והיכוה (or וכבוה) גלי הים.

*Until.* Text reads *ὥστε* which is either a corruption of *ἕστε*="until," or a mistranslation of עד אשר, which we find here in Heb. T. Naph. v. 5.

6. *Joseph . . . in a little boat.* These words may point to an identification of Joseph with Samaria.

*We were divided on nine planks* (*α*). *β* $S^1$ read "we were all divided on ten planks."

7. *Of the earth* (*α* A). *β-d* $S^1$ om.

8. *For us all* (*β* $S^1$). A reads "for us"; *α* om.

9. *As it were.* *d g* A om.

*Our father.* *b d g* A add "Jacob."

*All* (*h i* A). *c* reads "again"; *β* $S^1$ om.

VII. 1. In the Rab. T. Naph. vii. 1-5 (cf. iv. 1) the fact of the repetition of the visions is given as a ground for the certainty of their fulfilment. This idea is derived from Gen. xli. 32.

2. *God* (*α d*). A reads "the Lord"; *β-d* $S^1$ om. The visions just recounted are from God because of the ground given, see note on ver. 1.

3. *Ah me!* (*α*). *β* A $S^1$ om.

4. *He caused me, therefore* (*α*). *β* A $S^1$ read "and he caused us also."

*These words* (*c a e f g* A), *h i d* "his words." *b* $S^1$ read "these words of his."

*Joseph* (*α*). *β* A $S^1$ om.

VIII. 1. *And lo!* (*α d*). *β-d* A S read "lo!"

last times, how everything shall come to pass in Israel. 2. Do ye also, ⌜therefore,⌝ charge your children that they be united to Levi and to Judah;

For through them shall salvation arise unto Israel,
And in them shall Jacob be blessed.

3. For through their tribes shall God appear [dwelling among men] on earth,
To save the race of Israel,
And to gather together the righteous from amongst the Gentiles.

4. If ye work that which is good, my children,
⌜Both⌝ men and angels shall bless you;
And God shall be glorified among the Gentiles through you,

2. *That they be united to Levi and Judah.* These words are preserved in the Heb. T. Naph. i. 8. On "Levi and Judah" see note on T. Dan v. 10.

*For through them shall salvation . . . And in them shall Jacob be blessed.* For "through them" and "in them" the text reads "through Judah" and "in him." But Naphtali cannot bid his sons to attach themselves to Levi and Judah if salvation comes wholly through Judah. But according to T. Sim. vii. 1; T. Lev. ii. 11; T. Dan v. 4; T. Gad viii. 1; T. Jos. xix. 11, salvation proceeds jointly from Levi and Judah. Moreover, since in T. Naph. (cf. v. 3, 4, vi.), as in the other Testaments (see T. Reub. vi. 5-12 note), when Levi and Judah are mentioned together, Levi is given the premier position as here, and the salvation of Israel is said to proceed from them jointly (see note on T. Reub. vi. 5-12), we conclude that the above couplet is either interpolated or recast by a Christian hand. I have, with Bousset, assumed the latter alternative.

3. *For* ($\beta$ A S). $\alpha$ om.

*Their tribes.* Text reads "his tribe," a Christian alteration. See preceding note.

*God appear on earth to save Israel.* Cf. T. Sim. vi. 4; T. Zeb. ix. 8.

[*Dwelling among men.*] I have bracketed these words as an addition of the Christian scribe who recast the preceding verse. Yet the words may be original.

*And to gather* (*g* $A^{abbd*ef}$). $\alpha\beta$-*g* read "and He will gather."

*Gather the righteous from amongst the Gentiles.* The text could also be rendered "gather the righteous of the Gentiles." The former would refer to the restoration of the dispersion; cf. Pss. cvi. 47, cxlvii. 2; Is. lxvi. 21, etc. The latter rendering could be supported by such passages as 1 En. x. 21, which states that all the Gentiles are to become righteous, or 1 En. xc. 9-16, 18, 30, which teaches the conversion of such of the Gentiles as had not opposed Israel. Moreover, the whole tendency of the book favours this view. See note on T. Benj. ix. 2.

4-6. With a view to a right criticism of these verses we must closely observe their elaborate structure. Verses 4 and 6 are similarly constructed, each line of ver. 6 forming the antithesis of ver. 4. When once we have recognised this fact we see the necessity of rejecting the last line in ver. 4, a question which we shall treat in due course.

4. *If* ($\beta$-$\alpha g$ A $S^1$). $\alpha$ reads "if, therefore, ye also."

*My children* ($\beta$ A $S^1$). $\alpha$ om.

*Both* ($\beta$-*g*). $\alpha$ A om.

*And God will be glorified.* Contrast the third line of ver. 6.

And the devil shall flee from you,
⌜And the wild beasts shall fear you,⌝
And the Lord shall love you,
[And the angels shall cleave to you].

5. As a man who has trained a child well is kept in kindly remembrance;
So also for a good work there is a good remembrance before God.

6. But him who doeth not that which is good,
⌜Both⌝ angels and men shall curse,
And God shall be dishonoured among the Gentiles through him,
And the devil shall make him as his own peculiar instrument,
And every wild beast shall master him,
And the Lord shall hate him.

7. For the commandments of the law are twofold,
⌜And⌝ through prudence must they be fulfilled.

8. For there is a season for a man to embrace his wife,
And a season to abstain therefrom for his prayer.

*And the Lord shall love you* (*e g* $A^{b*cdef}$ S). This line is original though wanting in *a a b d f*. The fact that $A^{ab}$ omits them is not important since there is a large loss in these MSS here through hmt. Now, since against the preceding five lines of this verse are set antithetic statements in the first five lines of ver. 6, the same structure must be discoverable in the closing lines of both verses. Hence, as ver. 6 ends with the words "and the Lord shall hate him," ver. 4 must end with "and the Lord shall love him." Accordingly we must reject the words that follow, "and the angels shall cleave unto you" as an intrusion. But it is possible also to explain the origin of this intrusion. "And the angels shall cleave unto you"=(ומלאכים or) ואלהים יאהבכם, a corrupt dittography of ואלהים יאהבכם=and the Lord shall love you.

*The devil shall flee*, etc. Contrast the fourth line of ver. 6. Cf. James iv. 7.

*And the wild beasts*, etc. A $S^1$ om. Contrast fifth line of ver. 6.

5. This verse seems out of place here. Moreover, the text is corrupt. The above rendering is attained by emending ἐκθρέψει into ἐκθρέψας, or taking ἄν as ἐάν.

*As* (*a a e f* A). *b d g* $S^1$ read "for as."

6. *Both* (*a a e f*). *β-a e f* A $S^1$ om.

*Angels and men* (*a a d g* A). *b e f* $S^1$ read "men and angels."

*And God shall be dishonoured among the Gentiles through him* (*β-d* A $S^1$). *a* om.

7. *The law* (*a β*). A reads "the Lord."

8. Cf. Eccles. iii. 5 "A time to embrace, and a time to refrain from embracing." Our text was used by St. Paul in 1 Cor. vii. 5 "Defraud ye not one the other, except it be by consent *for a season that ye may give yourselves unto prayer.*"

9. So, then, there are two commandments; and, unless they be done in due order, they bring ⌜very great⌝ sin ⌜upon men⌝. So also is it with the other commandments. 10. Be ye therefore wise in God, ⌜my children,⌝ and prudent, understanding the order of His commandments, and the laws of every word, that the Lord may love you.

IX. And when he had charged them with many such words, he exhorted them that they should remove his bones to Hebron, and that they should bury him with his fathers. 2. And when he had eaten and drunken with a merry heart, he covered his face and died. 3. And his sons did according to all that Naphtali their father had commanded them.

9. *There are two commandments* (*b d g* A $S^1$). *a e f* read "the two (commandments) of God are."

*Very great sin upon men* (*α*). *β* A $S^1$ read "sin."

10. *My children* (*α*). *β* A $S^1$ om.

*Understanding* (εἰδότες) (*β-g* A $S^1$). *α g* read "seeing" (ἰδόντες).

# THE TESTAMENT OF GAD, THE NINTH SON OF JACOB AND ZILPAH

I. THE copy of the testament of Gad, what things he spake unto his sons, in the hundred and twenty-fifth year of his life, saying unto them: 2. ⌜Hearken, my children,⌝ I was the ninth son born to Jacob, and I was valiant in keeping the flocks. 3. Accordingly I guarded ⌜at night⌝ the flock; and whenever the lion came, ⌜or the wolf,⌝ or any wild beast against the fold, I pursued it, and ⌜overtaking (it)⌝ I seized its foot with my hand and hurled it about a stone's throw, and so killed it. 4. Now Joseph ⌜my brother⌝ was feeding the flock with us for upwards of thirty days, and being

TITLE. $\alpha$ as in text. $\beta$-$a$ $d$ A (emended) S read "Testament of Gad, ninth ($e$ $f$ A S om.), concerning hatred." $f$ adds "Gad is by interpretation pirate," $a$ reads simply "Gad."

I. 1. *What things he.* $\alpha$ adds "did and."

*Hundred and twenty-fifth.* So Midrash Tadshe and Shemoth rabba i. 5; Book of Jashar (*Dict. des Apocr.* ii. 1246).

*Fifth.* $b$ reads "seventh."

*Saying unto them* ($\alpha$ $A^{abcd}$). $b$ reads "saying," $a$ $e$ $f$ $S^1$ om. $d$ $g$ $S^2$ read "for he called (+"his sons" $S^2$) and said unto them," $A^{b*}$ "he assembled his sons and daughters and said unto them."

2 *Hearken, my children* ($\alpha$). $\beta$ A S om.

3. With this achievement of Gad compare those assigned to Judah: T. Jud. ii.

*Accordingly* ($\alpha$). $A^{b*}$ $c$ $d$ $e$ $f$ read "and." $\beta$ S om.

⌜*Or the wolf*⌝ ($\alpha$ $\beta$-$d$ $S^1$). $a$ reads "wolf or lion," $d$ A om. "or wolf." $b$ $e$ $g$ A $S^1$ add "or leopard or bear," $d$ adds "or bear."

*Or any wild beast.* $a$ om.

*Overtaking (it) I seized* ($\alpha$). $\beta$ A $S^1$ read "seizing."

*Hurled it about a stone's throw, and* ($\alpha$). $\beta$-$d$ $S^1$ read "whirling it round I stunned it, and having hurled it ($b$ $S^1$ "and I hurled it") over two furlongs (+"and" $b$ $S^1$) so." This is a small achievement compared with Judah's hurling a leopard thirty-seven miles! See T. Jud. ii. 6. The tradition as to Gad's strength survives in Ber. rabba xcv. 4, which states that because of his great strength he was not presented to Pharaoh lest he should appoint him one of his guards (*Jewish Encyc.* v. 544).

4. *My brother* ($\alpha$). $\beta$ A $S^1$ om.

young, he fell sick by reason of the heat. 5. And he returned to Hebron to our father, who made him lie down near him, because he loved him greatly. 6. And Joseph told our father that the sons of ⌜Zilpah and⌝ Bilhah were slaying the best ⌜of the flock⌝ and eating them against the judgment of Reuben and Judah. 7. For he saw that I had delivered a lamb out of the mouth of the bear, and put the bear to death; but had slain the lamb, being grieved concerning it that it could not live, and that we had eaten it. 8. And regarding this matter I was wroth with Joseph ⌜until the day that he was sold. 9. And the spirit of hatred was in me⌝, and I wished not either to hear of Joseph with the ears, or to see him with the eyes, because he rebuked us to our faces ⌜saying⌝ that we were eating of the flock without Judah. For whatsoever things he told our father, he believed him.

II. I confess now my sin, my children, that oftentimes I wished to kill him, because I hated him from my heart. 2. Moreover, I hated him yet more for his dreams; and I wished to lick him out of the land of the living, even as an ox licketh up the grass of the field.

*Young* (*νέος* — *α* $S^1$). *β* A read *τρυφερός*, "delicate." The latter = עָנֹג, the former נַעַר. One is clearly a corruption of the other.

5. *Our father* (*α β-b*). *b* A $S^1$ read "his father."

*Greatly* (*α* A). *β* om.

6. According to Targ. Ps.-Jon. on Gen. xxxvii. 2 Joseph reported that the sons of Bilhah and Zilpah were eating flesh cut from the living animal.

*Our father* (*α β-a*). *a* A $S^1$ read "his father."

*Of the flock* (*α*). *β* A $S^1$ om.

*Reuben and Judah* (*α* A). *β* $S^1$ read "Judah and Reuben."

7. *We had eaten it.* *b* $A^b$ add "and he told our ("his" $A^b$) father." Somewhat similar additions are made in *d* $A^{b*}$ and $S^2$.

8. *Sold.* *β* $S^1$ add "unto Egypt."

9. *Either to hear of Joseph with the ears, or see him with the eyes* (*οὔτε δι' ἀκοῆς οὔτε δι' ὀφθαλμῶν ἰδεῖν τὸν* 'I.—*α*). *β* S read "either to see J. with my eyes or to hear him" (*δι' ἀκοῆς*). Here we must supply *ἀκούειν* after *δι' ἀκοῆς* as I have done in my translation in accordance with A. The phrase then = לשמע באונים as in Ps. xliv. 2; Job xxviii. 22. Otherwise *δι' ἀκοῆς* = בְּשֶׁמַע, corrupt for לִשְׁמֹעַ = *ἀκούειν*.

*Because* (*α d* $A^{bc}$). *β-d* $A^{ab*def}$ $S^1$ read "and."

⌜*Saying*⌝ (*α*). *β* A $S^1$ om.

*For* (*α*). *β-d* A $S^1$ read "and."

II. 1. *From my heart* (*ἐκ ψυχῆς*—*α* A). *β-g* $S^1$ read *ἕως ψυχῆς*, whatever that may mean. *b g* A add "and there were not in anywise in me bowels of mercy towards him."

2. Cf. T. Dan i. 7.

*To lick* (*ἐκλεῖξαι*—*α b e f* $S^1$). The expression is peculiar, but our author

| α | βAS¹ |
|---|---|
| 3. And Judah sold him secretly to the Ishmaelites. | 3. Therefore I and Simeon sold him to the Ishmaelites [for thirty pieces of gold, and ten of them we hid, and showed the twenty to our brethren]. |
| | 4. And thus through covetousness we were bent on slaying him. |
| 5. Thus the God of our fathers delivered him from our hands, that we should | 5. And the God of my fathers delivered him from my hands, that I should |

was modelling his text on Num. xxii. 4. 'Now shall this multitude lick up (ילחכו) all that is round about us, as the ox licketh up the grass of the field." On the other hand the reading of *d* A ἐξαλεῖψαι "blotted out" is very attractive, and of this reading we might regard ἐκλεῖψαι in *a* and ἐκθλῖψαι in *g* as corruptions. If *d* A are right, the corruption ἐκλεῖξαι could be explained as due to ἐκλείχει in the next clause, as well as to Num. xxii. 4.

*Of the field* (*a*). So also Num. xxii. 4. *b d* S¹ read "from the earth," *e f g* A "on the earth."

3-5. In these verses *a* is to be followed. The text of *β* A S¹ in ver. 3 at all events appears to owe its present form to a Christian scribe; for its statement that Joseph was sold for thirty pieces of gold is opposed to Gen. xxxvii. 28 and all the versions of and Targums on that passage as well as to Josephus, *Ant.* ii. 3. 3, the Book of Jashar, and all known Jewish authorities. The explanation of the peculiar text of *β* A S¹ is not difficult. Joseph must early have been taken by the Christian Church as a type of Christ. When this view was once adopted, there would have been a tendency to assimilate certain outstanding facts in the history of Joseph and Christ. Hence we explain the change of "twenty" into "thirty," or the introduction of this statement into our text by a Christian scribe. This statement is found also in Ambrose *De Jos.* iii.; Augustine, *Sermo* xiii. 2 (Benedictine ed. v. 2329).

3. *Simeon* (*β-b* A S²). *a b* S¹ read "Judah." Our text is divided as to the agents concerned in the sale of Joseph. According to *a b* S¹ here it is Judah: so also in T. Sim. ii. 9, whereas according to *β-b* A S² here (and T. Zeb. iii. 2), it is Simeon (and Gad and six others). And yet again in T. Sim. iv. 2 Simeon is said to have had the chief part in the matter. In Gen. xxxvii. 26 it is Judah who suggested the sale of Joseph.

*For thirty pieces of gold*, etc. For the grounds for bracketing this clause as a Christian interpolation see note on 3-5.

*Of gold.* According to Gen. xxxvii. 28 the twenty pieces were silver. Alone amongst the Versions and Targums the LXX represents them to be of gold. The latter may be the source of the statement in our text.

4. *We were fully bent* (ἐπληροφορήθημεν—*β-b g* S¹). *b g* A read "I was fully bent." The phrase is difficult. It may be a development of that in Eccles. viii. 11, מלא לב לעשות. Our text would then have been מלאנו להרנו "we were bent on slaying him." Perhaps מלאנו is defective for מלא לבנו.

5. *Delivered him.* Cf. T. Sim. ii. 8.

not work great lawlessness in Israel.

not work lawlessness in Israel.

III. And now, my children, hearken to the words of truth to work righteousness, and all the law of the Most High, and go not astray through the spirit of hatred, for it is evil in all the doings of men. 2. Whatsoever a man doeth the hater abominates him: and though a man worketh the law of the Lord, he praiseth him not; though a man feareth the Lord, and taketh pleasure in that which is righteous, he loveth him not. 3. He dispraiseth the truth, he envieth him that prospers, he welcometh evil-speaking, he loveth arrogance, for hatred blindeth his soul; as I †also ⌜then⌝ looked† on Joseph.

IV. Beware, therefore, my children, of hatred; for it worketh lawlessness ⌜even⌝ against the Lord Himself. 2. For it will not hear ⌜the words of⌝ His commandments concerning the loving of one's neighbour, ⌜and⌝ it sinneth against God. 3. ⌜For if a brother stumble,⌝ it delighteth immediately to proclaim it to all men, and is urgent that he should

III. 1. *My children* (β-α A S). α *a* om.

*Words.* *c g* read "word."

*Go not astray* (α β-*b* A). *b* S read "not to go astray."

*Whatsoever . . . the hater abominates him* (πᾶν ὃ ἐὰν ποιῇ, ὁ μισῶν βδελύσσεται—β-*f g* S). This text squares best with the context, though less strongly attested than α, which reads "whatever the hater doeth, is abominable" (βδελλυκτόν ἐστι). A = πᾶν ὃ ἐὰν ποιῇ ὁ μισῶν, βδέλυγμά ἐστι (βδελυκτὸν δοκεῖ A$^{b*}$cdefg) αὐτῷ. As αὐτῷ is here an intrusion, A agrees with α.

*And though a man* (α A). β S read "though he."

*Though a man* (*c* A). Other MSS. "though."

*He praiseth him not.* A is corrupt: "all men praise him."

*He loveth him not.* A = "who loveth not such?"

3. *Envieth him that prospers.* Contrast 1 Cor. xiii. 4 "Love envieth not."

*Him that prospers.* The word is κατορθοῦντι, which I take to be a rendering of מצליח. In itself it could go back to יָשָׁר = "upright," but the text favours the former view.

*Blindeth* (α *d f*). *b e g* A S read "blinded."

*As I also ⌜then⌝ looked on Joseph.* β A S omit "then." Further, "looked on" can hardly be right. ὡς κἀγὼ ἔβλεπον ἐν = כי גם אני אתאה ב, which may be corrupt for כי גם אתי עִוְּרָה ב, "As it blinded me also in regard to Joseph."

IV. 1. *Worketh lawlessness* (α *b*$^1$ *g* S$^1$). α *d e*$^2$ *f* A read "causes one to be lawless."

⌜*Even*⌝ (α). β A S$^1$ omit.

3. ⌜*For if a brother stumble*⌝ (β S). α A omit, but wrongly. Cf. Gal. vi. 1.

*Delighteth* (θέλει—β A S$^1$). α reads σπουδάζει "hastens." θέλει = יַחְפֹּץ, σπουδάζει = יַחְפֹּז.

be judged for it, and be punished and be put to death. 4. And if it be a servant it stirs him up against his master, and †with every affliction it deviseth against him, if possibly he can be put to death. 5. For hatred worketh with envy also against them that prosper: so long as it heareth of or seeth their success, it always languisheth.

6. For as love would quicken ⌜even⌝ the dead, and would call back them that are condemned to die, so hatred would slay the living, and those that had sinned venially it would not suffer to live. 7. For the spirit of hatred worketh together with Satan, through hastiness of spirit, in all things unto men's death; but the spirit of love worketh together with the law of God in long-suffering unto the salvation of men.

V. ⌜Hatred, therefore, is evil,⌝ for it constantly mateth with lying, speaking against the truth; and it maketh small things to be great, and causeth the light to be darkness, and calleth the sweet bitter, and teacheth slander, and

4. *Stirs . . . up* (*συμβαλεῖ c i, συμβάλλει h β* $S^1$). A = *διαβαλεῖ*. In the latter case we should render "slanders him to his master." *συμβαλεῖ* = יגרה or יסית.

†*With every affliction he deviseth against him* (*ἐν πάσῃ θλίψει ἐπιχειρεῖ αὐτῷ* (*ὃ καὶ αὐτοῦ*) — *b* $S^1$). A is corrupt but implicitly supports this text. For *ἐπιχειρεῖ a β-b* read *ἐπιχαίρει*. In that case we should translate: "in every affliction it rejoiceth over him." But the previous clause leads us to expect a verb of action here. Hence *ἐπιχειρεῖ* is preferable. If so, some error inheres in "with every affliction." This = בכל־צוקה, which may be corrupt for בכל־מצוקה, or simply בכל־רעה for בכל־רעה. Then we should have the familiar phrase כל־רעה יחשב עליו = "deviseth every evil against him." Otherwise "with every affliction" is to be construed with "put to death."

*He can be put to death* (*a a f*). *β-a f* A $S^1$ read "it can put him to death."

5. A is very corrupt in this verse, but it does not imply a text different to that in the Greek.

*Also against them that prosper* (*καὶ κατὰ τῶν εὐπραγούντων*). Or we might render "and as regards them that prosper" and connect this with the words that follow.

6. *For* (*β* $S^1$). A reads "and." *α* omits.

7. *Hastiness of spirit.* Here *ὀλιγοψυχία* = קצר רוח (cf. LXX on Exod. vi. 9; Pss. Sol. xvi. 11) contrary to its proper meaning.

V. 1. *Constantly mateth with lying.* Cf. Sir. xx. 25.

*Causeth the light to be darkness* (*τὸ φῶς σκότος παρέχει h i e f*). Though the text is here based on Is. v. 20 "woe to them . . . that put darkness for light and light for darkness; that put bitter for sweet and sweet for bitter"; the MSS. and versions are all at variance as to the verb here. Thus for *παρέχει*, *c* reads *λαλεῖ*, *b d* $S^1$ *προσέχει*, *g* A *βλέπει*, $S^2$ *ποιεῖ*. From Is. v. 20 it is probable that the original was שם אור לחשך.

⌜kindleth⌝ wrath, and ⌜stirreth⌝ up war, and violence and all covetousness; it filleth the heart with evils and devilish poison. 2. These things, ⌜therefore⌝, I say to you from experience, my children, that ye may drive forth hatred, which is of the devil, and cleave to the love of God. 3. Righteousness casteth out hatred, humility destroyeth envy. For he that is just and humble is ashamed to do what is unjust, ⌜being reproved not of another,⌝ but of his own heart, because the Lord looketh on his inclination. 4. He speaketh not against a holy man, because the fear of God overcometh hatred. 5. For fearing lest he should offend the Lord, he will not do wrong to any man, even in thought. 6. These things I learnt at last, after I had repented concerning Joseph. 7. For true repentance after a godly sort [destroyeth ignorance, and] driveth away the darkness, and enlighteneth the eyes, and giveth knowledge to the soul, and leadeth the mind to salvation. 8. And those things which it hath not learnt from man, it knoweth through repentance. 9. For God

⌜*Kindleth*⌝ *wrath.* *a* reads *ὀργὴν ἐκταράσσει.* Here *ἐκταράσσει* may = יחריר corrupt for יחרה = "kindled." *β* A $S^1$ omit the word.

⌜*Stirreth up*⌝ (*a*). *β* A $S^1$ omit.

*Evils.* *c* omits.

2. *Therefore* (*a*). *β-b* A omit.

*God* (*c i d* A). *h β-d* $S^1$ read "the Lord."

3. *Envy* (*a g* $A^{b*}$). *a b e* $A^{abcdef}$ S read "hatred."

*For the Lord looketh*, etc. 1 Sam. xvi. 7.

*His inclination* (*τὸ διαβούλιον*—*β-d* A $S^1$). *a* reads "his soul."

4. *Holy* (*a β-b* $S^1$). A reads "true." *b* omits.

*God* (*c β-b e*). *b* A $S^1$ read "Most High."

*Overcometh hatred* (*νικᾷ τὸ μῖσος*—*β* A $S^1$). *a* reads *οἰκεῖ ἐν αὐτῷ* "dwelleth in him" = ידור בנפשו corrupt for יובל לשנאה = *β* A $S^1$.

5. *Will not do wrong . . . even in thought.* Cf. T. Jos. ix. 2. These words give the principle which lies at the root of our Lord's commands in the Sermon on the Mount: Matt. v. 21 sqq., 27 sqq. They require the heart, not merely the outward life to conform to the Decalogue.

7. *True repentance after a godly sort . . . leadeth the mind to salvation* (*ἡ γὰρ κατὰ θεὸν ἀληθὴς μετάνοια . . . ὁδηγεῖ τὸ διαβούλιον εἰς σωτηρίαν*). Cf. 2 Cor. vii. 10 "For godly sorrow (*ἡ γὰρ κατὰ θεὸν λύπη*) worketh repentance unto salvation . . . but the sorrow of the world worketh death." It is noteworthy that this contrast of death and salvation are also found in our text some verses earlier: see iv. 7. With our text we might compare Sir. iv. 22 *ἔστιν αἰσχύνη δόξα καὶ χάρις.*

[*Destroyeth ignorance and.*] Since this clause is omitted by A, spoils the balance of the subsequent clauses and is actually expressed in substance by them. I have omitted it as a disturbing gloss.

8. The text follows *β-a f* A $S^1$ save that for "it knoweth through repentance" A reads "repentance knoweth." *a* reads "and it hath not learnt this from man, but it knoweth how to receive those who have through repentance."

brought upon me a disease of the liver; and had not the prayers of Jacob my father succoured me, it had hardly failed but my spirit had departed. 10. For by what things a man transgresseth, by the same also is he punished. 11. Since, ⌜therefore,⌝ my liver was set mercilessly against Joseph, in my liver too I suffered mercilessly, and was judged for eleven months, for so long a time as I had been angry against Joseph.

VI. And now, my children, ⌜I exhort you,⌝ love ye each one his brother, and put away hatred from your hearts, love one another in deed, and in word, and in the inclination of the soul. 2. For in the presence of my father I spake peaceably to Joseph; and when I had gone out, the spirit of hatred darkened my mind, and stirred up my soul to slay him.

α

3. Love ye one another

β A S[1]

3. Love ye, therefore, one

9. Cf. T. Reub. i. 7, iv. 4; T. Jud. xix. 2.

*Of Jacob* (β A S). α omits.

*Succoured me* (ἐβοήθησαν — α A). β-a S omit. α reads ἔφθασαν. The latter, if it is more than a mere guess, =נגעו, which may be a corruption of עזרו, the text implied by α A, or of נרצו, which we have conjectured to be the original in the parallel passage in T. Jud. xix. 2 (note).

10. Cf. Jub. iv. 31, 32, where the primitive human law of retaliation is enunciated. This was a very popular doctrine of the second century B.C. Cf. 2 Macc. v. 10, xv. 32, 33 where concrete illustrations of the working of this law are given. Taken crassly and mechanically, the above law is without foundation; but spiritually conceived it represents the profound truth enunciated in the NT. in Gal. vi. 7 "whatsoever a man soweth that shall he also reap"; Col. iii. 25 "he that doeth wrong shall receive again the wrong that he hath done."

*Also* (β A S). α omits.

11. *Eleven months* (β A S). α reads "ten periods" (χρόνους).

*Joseph.* β A S add "until he was sold."

VI. 1. ⌜*I exhort you*⌝ (α). β A S omit.

*Love one another* (α a e *f* S[2]). *b d g* A S[1] read "loving one another."

*In the inclination of the soul.* Cf. 1 Chron. xxix. 18.

2. *My* (α *d* A). β-*d* read "our."

*But when I had gone out* (α β-*d* A[a b c d g] S[1]). *d* A[b] read "but when he ("I" A[b]) had gone out from the presence of our ("my" A[b]) father."

3-7. These verses contain the most remarkable statement on the subject of forgiveness in all ancient literature. They show a most wonderful insight into the true psychology of the question. That our Lord was acquainted with them and that His teaching presupposes them we must infer from the fact that the parallel is so perfect in thought and so close in diction between them and Luke xvii. 3; Matt. xviii. 15. The meaning of forgiveness in both cases is the highest and noblest known to us: namely the restoring the offender to communion with us, which he had forfeited through his offence. This is

from the heart; and if a man sin against thee, speak peaceably to him, and in thy soul hold not guile; and if he repent and confess, forgive him.

another from the heart; and if a man sin against thee, cast forth the poison of hate and speak peaceably to him, and in thy soul hold not guile; and if he confess and repent, forgive him.

4. But if he deny it, do not get into a passion with him,

'ikewise the essence of divine forgiveness—God's restoration of the sinner to communion with Him—a communion from which his sin had banished him. But our author shows that it is not always possible for the offended man to compass such a perfect relation with the offender, and yet that the offended, however the offender may act, can always practise forgiveness in a real though limited sense. He can get rid of the feeling of personal wrong and so take up a right and sympathetic attitude to the offender. This is the first and essential duty in all true forgiveness. It is often all that a man can compass: and apparently the divine forgiveness has analogous limitations—at all events within the sphere of the present life. The subject is treated as follows. If a man angers you, you are first of all to get rid of the feeling of resentment and then to speak gently to him about his offence. If he admit his offence and repent you are to forgive him (ver. 3). But if the offender refuse to admit his offence, there is one thing you must not do: you must not lose your temper with him, lest he get infected by your bad temper, and take to cursing and so you become guilty of a double sin—your own unbridled anger and his aggravated guilt (ver. 4). In such a case, therefore, you must cease from further reproofs; for one of two things will take place. The offender when he is reproved, even though he deny his guilt, will feel a sense of shame, or he will not. In the former case (ver. 6) he may repent and afterwards be at peace with thee. In the latter (ver. 7) he will persist in his wrong-doing and must be left to the vengeance of God.

It will be observed in the above interpretation of this passage that we have omitted all reference to ver. 5, with the exception of the last clause, which we have incorporated in ver. 4. This verse forms a disturbing element in the text, and needs excision.

3. *Therefore* ($\beta$ A $S^1$). $\alpha$ om.

*If a man sin against thee.* Cf. Matt. xviii. 15; Luke xvii. 3.

*Cast forth the poison of hate and* (*ἐξορίσας τὸν ἰὸν τοῦ μίσους*—$\beta$ A $S^1$). $\alpha$ om. A similar clause recurs in ver. 5, where it must bear a similar meaning. Before we reprove the man who has injured us we must get rid of the personal feeling of resentment, else this "wrath of man" will awake such a jarring note in our reproof as to incense the offender further.

*Speak peaceably to him* (דבר אתו שלום), *i.e.* about his fault. Cf. Matt. xviii. 15 "show him his fault (*ἔλεγξον αὐτόν*) between thee and him alone." The Gospel requires privacy to spare the offender's feelings; our text requires the reprover to see to himself that he is free from evil resentment.

*Peaceably* ($\beta$ $A^\beta$ $S^1$). $c$ $A^{ab}$ read "peace." The writer may have had Jer. ix. 7 before him, "he speaketh peaceably to his neighbour with his mouth but in his heart he layeth wait for him."

*If he . . . repent, forgive him* (*ἐὰν ὁμολογήσας μετανοήσῃ ἄφες αὐτῷ*). Cf. Luke xvii. 3 *ἐὰν μετανοήσῃ ἄφες αὐτῷ.*

*Confess and repent* ($\beta$-$a$ $d$ $A^{ab*cdeg}$ $S^1$). $\alpha$ reads "repent and confess."

4. *Do not get into a passion with him* (*μὴ φιλονείκει*). This is the one thing that the offended man is not to do. It only leads to further sin both in him and in the offender.

lest catching the poison from thee he take to swearing and so thou sin doubly. [5. Let not another man hear thy secrets when engaged in legal strife, lest he come to hate thee and become thy enemy, and commit a great sin against thee; for ofttimes he addresseth thee guilefully or busieth himself about thee with wicked intent.] 6. And though he deny it and yet have a sense of shame when reproved, give over reproving him. For he who denieth may repent so as not again to wrong thee; yea, he may also honour thee, and [fear and] be at peace with thee. 7. But if he be shame-

*Catching the poison from thee* (λαβὼν ἀπό σου τὸν ἰόν). This clause is found in the text after the words "plays the spy on thee with wicked intent" at the close of the next verse. Its meaning is already determined by its occurrence in an analogous form in ver. 3. The poison referred to is the poison of personal resentment or passion which speedily passes over from the offended man to the offender with whom he remonstrates. It has thus no proper connection with the rest of ver. 5, but follows naturally on the words 'don't get into a passion," in ver. 4, lest he, too, fall into a passion. Thus we should restore the close of ver. 4 as follows: μὴ φιλονείκει αὐτῷ μήποτε, λαβὼν ἀπό σου τὸν ἰόν, ὁμόσῃ καὶ δισσῶς ἁμαρτήσῃς. See also the next note.

5. This verse is an interpolation, with the exception of the last clause, which I have in my translation already incorporated in ver. 4. Verses 3, 4, 6, 7 deal very originally and wholly with the question of forgiveness, and with this subject the bracketed clauses have no relation. The latter appear to be based on Prov. xxv. 8-10, and possibly on Sir. xix. 8-9, and to deal with the danger men run when their tempers are roused in legal strife of divulging secrets to strangers and so of exposing themselves to attack from the latter. With the final clause we have already dealt in the preceding note.

*Let not another man*, etc. Cf. Prov. xxv. 9, "debate thy cause with thy neighbour and disclose not the secret of another."

*Lest he come to hate thee*, etc. Cf. Prov. xxv. 10 "lest he that heareth it revile thee"; Sir. xix. 8 "whether it be a friend or foe . . . reveal it not." Verse 9 "For he hath heard thee and observed thee, and when the time cometh he will hate thee."

*Thy* (*a*). β A $S^1$ read "your."

*Addresseth thee guilefully* (δολοφωνεῖ σε *h i f*). *c* reads δολοφωνῆσαι, *b* δολωφωνῆσαι, *g* δολοφωνῆσε, all of which may be corruptions of our text. On the other hand, *e* reads δολοφονεῖ σε, of which *d*, which reads δολοφονῆσαι, may be a corruption. A $S^1$ = δολοφονήσει σε.

*Catching the poison from thyself.* This clause, which occurs at the close of ver. 5, belongs, as we have shown in the final note on ver. 4, to that verse.

6. *He deny it.* A = "ye deny it."

*Give over* (ἠσύχασον—*a e f g*). *b* $S^1$ read ἡσυχάσθῃ; A = ἡσυχάσατε.

*Reproving* (μὴ ἐλέγξῃς—*a*). *b g* $S^1$ read μὴ ἐξάξῃς, *d e f* μὴ ἐξάξεις, A = καὶ μὴ δημοσιεύητε (or perhaps ἐξάξητε). ἠσύχασον μὴ ἐλέγξῃς = חדל מהוכח. Perhaps μὴ ἐξάξῃς in β $S^1$ above may = מהכעם, *i.e.* "give over provoking."

*Repent.* Cf. T. Benj. v. 4.

*So as not again to wrong* (β (A) $S^1$). *a* reads "of having wronged."

*Yea, he may also honour thee and* [*fear and*] *be at peace* (β-*a f* A $S^1$). *a f* read "and he may [fear and] be at peace." I have bracketed the words "fear and" as an interpolation. This idea is alien to the context. Possibly it may have arisen through a dittography in the Hebrew. Thus φοβηθήσεται = יחרד, which may be a dittography of יהדר = τιμήσει.

less and persisteth in his wrong-doing, even so forgive him from the heart, and leave ⌜to God the avenging.

VII. If a man prospereth more than you, do not be vexed, but pray also for him,⌝ that he may have perfect prosperity. For so it is expedient for you. 2. And if he be further exalted, be not envious ⌜of him⌝, remembering that all flesh shall die; and offer praise to God, who giveth things good and profitable to all men. 3. Seek out the judgments of the Lord, and thy mind will rest and be at peace. 4. And though a man become rich by evil means, even as Esau, the brother of my father, be not jealous; ⌜but⌝ wait for the end of the Lord. 5. For if He taketh away (from a man) wealth gotten by evil means He

7. *Forgive him.* Here "forgive" has not the full meaning of restoration to communion which it has in ver. 3. It signifies the banishment of all personal resentment, and is thus practically equivalent to the phrase "cast forth the poison of hate" in ver. 3.

*Leave ⌜to God the avenging.* The same duty is enforced in Rom. xii. 19 δότε τόπον τῇ ὀργῇ. Cf. Deut. xxxii. 35. A is here defective and corrupt.

VII. 1-7. Here, again, the teaching of our author is of the highest ethical character. As in the case of a man who has injured us we are to banish all feelings of personal resentment, so in the case of a successful rival, we are to banish all feelings of envy or jealousy. Verse 7 can hardly be right in its present position unless we restore the text as suggested in our notes.

1. *May have perfect prosperity* (τελείως εὐοδοῦται *b d e g* A $S^1$, though A is here corrupt). *a f* read "may be perfected" (τελειώθῃ).

*For so* (*a f* A). *b e g* $S^1$ read "for so perhaps."

2. *Of him* (*α*). *β* A S om.

3. *Will rest.* All the Versions are here corrupt. *α* reads καταλάμψει: *β-a* reads οὐ (*b f* om.) καταλείψει (*d* ἐγκαταλείψει), A οὐκ ἐγκαταλειφθήσῃ, but by a change of a single letter = ἐγκαταλείψεις, $S^1$ μὴ καταλείψητε. Here *α* is impossible. It may be a corruption of καταλείψει, or it may go back to יִנִּיחַ, corrupt for יָנוּחַ = καταλείψει. But as καταλείψει afforded no possible meaning, the negative was early inserted, and three different turns given to the phrase in *d e g*, in A, and in $S^1$, not one of which can be accepted. Thus, if we would find the fundamental error underlying the text, we must turn to the Hebrew. καταλείψει = יִנִּיחַ, which is corrupt for יָנוּחַ = ἀναπαύσεται "will rest." Of course it is quite possible that καταλείψει should be bracketed as having originated from a dittography in the Hebrew, and that we should simply read "and thy mind will be at peace." But the two verbs were possibly ינוח וישקט. Cf. Job iii. 26.

4. *But* (ℵ *β-a b* $S^1$). *c* reads "therefore" (δή), *b* "for."

*End.* Here ὅρος = מוער "the time appointed."

5. The text of this verse is very doubtful.

*For if* (εἰ γάρ *d g*). *α* reads "if," *b e g* "for either" (ἢ γάρ).

*Wealth gotten by evil means.* The text reads αὐτά (A πλοῦτον) ἐν κακοῖς. In ver. 4 our author has spoken of a man growing "rich by evil means (ἐκ κακῶν . . . πλουτήσει). Hence ἐν κακοῖς naturally means "(got) by evil means." Next αὐτά refers to the "wealth" so acquired. Hence I assume that הון = πλοῦτον (so A) stood in the original, but was corrupted into the

forgiveth him if he repent, but the unrepentant is reserved for eternal punishment. 6. For the poor man, if free from envy he pleaseth the Lord in all things, is blessed beyond all men, because he hath not the travail of vain men. 7. Put away, therefore, jealousy from your souls, and love one another with uprightness of heart.

VIII. Do ye also therefore tell these things to your

suffix הו. Thus יָסִיר הוֹן (= ἀφαιρεῖται πλοῦτον) became יְסִירֵהוּ = ἀφαιρεῖται αὐτόν. We must suppose, then, either that the translator of A found πλοῦτον in his Greek MS or in its margin, or else that it was a happy conjecture on his part. Next, πλοῦτον ἐν κακοῖς (or rather ἐκ κακῶν) represents הוֹן מֵעָוֶל, which goes back to Prov. xiii. 11, where the Mass. reads הון מהבל "wealth gotten by vanity." But מהבל is not supported by the LXX, Peshitto, Vulgate, or Targum. The Peshitto and Targum read מעולה, the Vulgate מִבַּהַל, and the LXX מבהל מעולה, *i.e.* "hastily gotten by evil means."

*But* (*d* A). *a β-d* $S^1$ read "or."

*The unrepentant.* *a* reads ἀμεταvοήτως (corrupt for the nominative singular). *b e f g* $S^1$ read ἀμετανοήτῳ "for the unrepentant." *d* A give the plural.

*Is reserved* (*a*). So practically A which = ἀμετανόητοι δὲ τηρεῖσθε. *b d e f g* $S^1$ read τηρεῖ (*e f* τηρήσει) "He reserveth."

*Unto eternal punishment* (*d* A). Since *a f* read εἰς αἰῶνας τὴν κόλασιν, *b e g* εἰς (+τὸν *g*) αἰωνα τὴν κόλασιν, it might be better to render the final clause as follows: "for the unrepentant (ἀμετανοήτῳ or ἀμετανοήτοις) He reserves (τηρεῖ) the punishment for ever." Our text goes back to Job xxi. 30 "the evil man is reserved to the day of calamity."

6. *For the poor man if free from envy* (ὁ γὰρ πένης ἐὰν ἀφθόνως (*h* ἄφθονος)—*a*). *β-a* A $S^1$ read "the man who is poor and free from envy."

*Pleaseth* (εὐαρεστῇ—*a*). *β-a* A $S^1$ read "giveth thanks to" (εὐχαριστῶν).

*Is blessed.* Here the text reads πλουτεῖ = יַעֲשֵׁר, which is corrupt for יְאֻשַּׁר = μακαριστός ἐστι, as Symmachus renders it in Ps. xli. 3. The LXX in Prov. xxxi. 28 imply the converse corruption. The next clause gives the ground of the poor man's happiness. He is "happy," not "rich," because he is free from the sore travail of men.

*Beyond all men* (*a d e f* A). *b g* S read "in all things" or "among all men."

*The travail of vain men* (τὸν περισπασμὸν τῶν ματαίων ἀνθρώπων—*a*). *β* A $S^1$ read "the evil travail of men" (τὸν πονηρὸν περισπασμὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων). περισπασμός is found seven times in the LXX of Eccles., and in all cases as a rendering of עִנְיָן. The phrase ענין רע = περισπασμὸν πονηρόν is found in Eccles. i. 13, iv. 8, v. 13. The poor man who is free from envy has not the travail of vain men or the evil travail of men, which is caused by their restless pursuit of riches. Cf. Eccles. ii. 26 "To the man that is good before him, God giveth . . . joy, but to the sinner He giveth travail (ענין = περισπασμόν) to gather and to heap up that he may give to him that is good before God."

7. *Jealousy.* The text reads μῖσος, "hatred." But our author could not reasonably conclude a disquisition on the sin of jealousy with the exhortation "put away, *therefore*, hatred." Here μῖσος = שִׂנְאָה, which is corrupt for קִנְאָה = ζῆλος. The corruption may be explained from the influence of the phrase "put away hatred from your hearts," already in vi. 1.

*Uprightness of heart.* See note on T. Iss. iii. 1.

VIII. 1. *Also therefore* (*a*, save that *c* omits "also"). *β-d* A $S^1$ read "and (A om.) do ye also."

children, that they honour †Judah and Levi,† for from them shall the Lord raise up salvation to Israel. [2. For I know that at the last your children shall depart from Him, and shall walk in all wickedness, and affliction and corruption before the Lord.] 3. And when he had rested for a little while, he said again: My children, obey your father, and bury me near to my fathers. 4. And he drew up his feet, and fell asleep in peace. 5. And after five years they carried him up to Hebron, and laid him with his fathers.

†*Judah and Levi*†. We should undoubtedly read "Levi and Judah" here, as is found universally through the original Testaments. See T. Reub. vi. 5-12 note; T. Dan v. 10 note. Even in T. Jud. xxi. 1-5 Judah declares that he is subordinate to Levi. The order "Judah and Levi" is due to a Christian scribe or interpolator. See T. Benj. xi.

*Shall the Lord raise up salvation unto you* (*h i g* A, save that *g* A omit "unto you"). *a d e f* read "shall the Lord the Saviour arise unto you"), *b* S "shall the Lord raise up a Saviour," *c* "shall the Lord, salvation, arise unto us." The Christian influence is obvious in *b* S.

2. Bracketed as a 1st cent. B.C. addition.

*I know.* Here as in T. Iss. vi. 1; T. Ass. vii. 2 our author does not mention the source of his knowledge. Enoch is frequently declared to be this source. See T. Lev. x. 5 note.

*At the last* (*β* A S). *α* om.

*Before* (*β-g* A S). *α* reads "from." Hence both readings appear to be renderings of מִן. The text is not quite satisfactory.

3. *Again.* *b* adds "to them."

4. *Drew up his feet* (*α β*). A reads "kissed his sons."

5. *Five years.* According to our text i. 1 Gad lived 125 years. According to Jub. xxviii. 20, Gad was born in the year 2131 A.M. Now as Gad's bones were buried in Canaan five years after his death, the year of his burial was therefore 2261 A.M., but this should be 2263, as we shall see presently. If we turn to T. Sim. viii. 2; T. Benj. xii. 3 we find that these patriarchs were buried in Canaan *during a war* between Egypt and Canaan. According to the latter Testament it was the ninety-first year after Israel had gone down into Egypt that Benjamin's bones were carried up into Canaan. Now as Israel went down into Egypt in the year 2172 A.M. (see Jub. xlv. 1), Benjamin was buried in Canaan in the year 2263 A.M. Thus 2263 A.M. is the date of the war between Egypt and Canaan, and as this actually is the year assigned to this war in Jub. xlvi. 9, we may conclude that there is some error in the text as to the age of Gad or the date of his birth (Jub. xxviii. 20), or the date of his burial in Canaan. If with MS. *b* in i. 1 we could accept 127 years as the age of Gad, it would reconcile the conflicting statements. But here *b* stands alone. Hence we must read "seven years" in our text or suppose that Gad was born in the year 2133 A.M.

*Up to Hebron and laid him* (*α a e f*, save that *a e f* read "buried" for "laid"). *b g* A read "and laid him in Hebron."

*With his fathers.* *a e f* $S^1$ omit.

# THE TESTAMENT OF ASHER, THE TENTH SON OF JACOB AND ZILPAH

I. The copy of the testament of Asher, what things he spake to his sons in the hundred and twenty-fifth year of his life. 2. ⌜For⌝ while he was still in health, he said to them: Hearken, ye children of Asher, to your father, and I will declare to you all that is upright in the sight of God. 3. Two ways hath God given to the sons of men, and two inclinations, ⌜and two kinds of action, and two modes (of

Title. *a* as in text. *b e f* $S^1$ read "The Testament of Asher the tenth (*e f* $S^1$ om.) concerning the two faces of vice and virtue" (+Asher is by interpretation "wealth" or "happy" *f*). *d* is conflate: "The Testament of Asher the tenth son of Jacob, the son of Zilpah the handmaid of Leah, concerning the two faces of vice and virtue." A= "The Testament of Asher (+"the son of Jacob" A $b^*$) concerning duplicity and virtue."

I. 1. *Fifth* (*a* A). *β-b* $S^1$ read "sixth." *b* omits.

2. *For* (*a*). *β* A $S^1$ omit.

*Ye children of Asher to your father* (*a b d g*). *a e f* A read "to Asher your father."

*Upright* (*εὐθές*). The original text contained a play on the name "Asher." Thus *εὐθές*=יָשָׁר, a play on אָשֵׁר, "Asher."

3. *Two ways.* See ver. 5. This is the earliest occurrence of this phrase in Jewish literature. The idea was suggested by Jer. xxi. 8 "Thus saith the Lord: Behold I set before you the way of life and the way of death." Cf. Pirke Aboth ii. 12, 13 (Taylor's 2nd ed. p. 147). See also "The Two Ways in Hermas and Xenophon" (*Journal of Philol.* xxi. 243-258), and my note on 2 En. xxx. 15 for the use of the phrase generally.

*Two inclinations* (*δύο διαβούλια*). These are the good and evil inclinations (יצר המוב and the יצר הרע) which God has implanted in man. We should observe that this is the oldest reference to the "good inclination" in Jewish literature. On this subject Porter's "Yetzer hara" in *Biblical and Semitic Studies* should be consulted; Taylor's *Sayings of the Fathers*[2], pp. 37, 38, 148-152, 186-192, and my edition of the Apocalypse of Baruch pp. 92-93. This rabbinic doctrine is found also in the Hebrew Sir. xv. 14 (Taylor's translation) "God created man from the beginning, and put him into the hand of him that would spoil him, and gave him into the hand of his inclination" (יצרו). Again in Sir. xxi. 11 the yetzer is referred to: *ὁ φυλάσσων νόμον κατακρατεῖ τοῦ ἐννοήματος αὐτοῦ*, "he that keepeth the law gets the mastery of his thought," *i.e.* יצרו, his evil inclination, as the Syriac shows. For a

action)], and [two] issues. 4. Therefore all things are by twos, one over against the other. 5. [For] there are two ways of good and evil, and †with these are the two inclinations in our breasts discriminating them.† 6. Therefore if the soul take pleasure in the good (inclination), all its actions are in righteousness; and if it sin it

criticism of Sir. xxvii. 5-6 where the word occurs again, see Porter, *op. cit.* p. 141.

These inclinations to good and evil are frequently referred to by our author. The word יצר was rendered by the Greek translator of our original Hebrew text nearly always by *διαβούλιον*, but once apparently by *πλάσμα* (T. Naph. ii. 5), and by *ἐνθύμημα*, T. Jud. xiii. 2, and by *προαίρεσις*, T. Jos. xvii. 3. With this we might compare the renderings in the LXX. Thus יצר לב is rendered by *διάνοια*, Gen. viii. 21; 1 Chron. xxix. 18; יצר מחשבות by *διανοεῖσθαι*, Gen. vi. 5; by *ἐνθύμημα*, 1 Chron. xxviii. 9; and יצר by *πονηρία*, Deut. xxxi. 21; by *πλάσμα*, Ps. ciii. 14. The last word is used by Aquila and Symmachus in Deut. xxxi. 21, Is. xxvi. 3. According to our author there are two inclinations, T. Ash. i. 3. If the soul follows the good inclination its actions are righteous, T. Ash. i. 6; if to the evil inclination, its actions are wicked, T. Ash. i. 8. The good inclination is not in the power of any spirit of Beliar, T. Benj. vi. 1; it admits no evil desire, T. Reub. iv. 9; it receiveth not glory from men, T. Benj. vi. 4. God looks on the inclination of a man, T. Gad. v. 3 (*β-d* A $S^1$); He knows it, T. Naph. ii. 5; tries it by temptation, T. Jos. ii. 6; delights in it when it takes pleasure in (brotherly) love, T. Jos. xvii. 3; and rewards a man according to it, T. Jud. xiii. 8. The yetzer is blinded by fornication and covetousness, T. Jud. xviii. 3; it is stirred into anger by envy, T. Sim. iv. 8. The yetzer of youth—*i.e.* the evil yetzer—blinds the mind, T. Jud. xi. 1. Man must not walk according to his inclinations, T. Jud. xiii. 2. This latter passage is doubtful. Possibly there are references to these impulses also in T. Benj. iii. 2, vi. 5.

*Modes* (*τρόπους—a a d e f*). *b* $S^2$ read *τόπους*, "places."

4. *All things are by twos*, etc. See v. 1. Cf. Sir. xxxvi. 15 *πάντα τὰ ἔργα τοῦ ὑψίστου, δύο δύο, ἓν κατέναντι τοῦ τοῦ ἑνός*: xlii. 24 *πάντα δισσὰ ἓν κατέναντι τοῦ ἑνός*. The words may have been a current proverb; for we find the same idea substantially in Eccles. vii. 14 "In the day of prosperity be joyful, and in the day of adversity consider: God hath even made the one side by side with the other." See also Chagiga 15[a].

5. *[For]* (*a*). *β* A $S^1$ omit.

*And with these* (*ἐν οἷς—h i β-g*). *c* reads *ἐν αἷς* (which may be a corruption of the former), *g* A *ἐν ᾧ*. The good and the evil impulses in man's breast are directed towards "good and evil."

*Discriminating them* (*διακρίνοντα αὐτά—a f*). *β-d f* read *δ. αὐτάς* for *αὐτά*. *αὐτά* here refers to "good and evil." Possibly this *αὐτά* and *ἐν οἷς* should be taken together and *εἰσί . . . διακρίνοντα* as a translation of . . . יהיו בחרים (as in LXX of Job ix. 14, xv. 5). The original would then have run אשר . . . בחרים בם יהיו = "and these (respectively) are the objects of the choice of the two inclinations in our breasts."

6. The soul is here represented as exercising the right of choice between the two impulses. Cf. T. Jud. xx. 1 where this function is ascribed to the "spirit of the understanding of the mind" in regard to the principles of truth and error.

*In the good* (*inclination*). So I render *ἐν καλῷ* the reading of *β* A $S^1$. *α* reads *καλῶς πορευθῆναι* ("to walk in goodness") which may be a rendering of בטוב לצאת, a corruption (?) of ביצר הטוב = *ἐν τῷ καλῷ διαβουλίῳ*. *β* A $S^1$ read merely *ἐν καλῷ*. However we may account for the corruption in *α*, we must render as above. See ver. 8.

*All its actions are* (*β* A $S^1$). *α* reads "it does all its actions."

straightway repenteth. 7. For, having its thoughts set upon righteousness, and casting away wickedness, it straightway overthroweth the evil, and uprooteth the sin. 8. But if it incline to the evil inclination, all its actions are in wickedness, and it driveth away the good, and cleaveth to the evil, and is ruled by Beliar; even though it work what is good, he perverteth it to evil. 9. For whenever it beginneth to do good, he forces the issue of the action into evil for him, seeing that the treasure of the inclination is filled with an evil spirit.

II. A person then may with words help the good for

7. As in the previous verse the actions of the good tendency are given, so here apparently we have its modes of action (see ver 3).

8. *But if it incline to the evil inclination* (*ἐὰν δὲ κλίνῃ ἐν τῷ πονηρῷ διαβουλίῳ*). So the text, which reads *ἐὰν δὲ ἐν πονηρῷ κλίνῃ τὸ διαβούλιον*, must be emended. The soul is the subject of the verb as in ver. 6. Thus we have *πρᾶξις αὐτῆς*, "its actions," *i.e.* the soul's, not *πρᾶξις αὐτοῦ*, the actions of the inclination (*διαβούλιον*). This verse deals with the evil inclination (יצר הרע = *τὸ πονηρὸν διαβούλιον*). And the evils that follow when the soul surrenders itself to it. First come the actions of the soul; these are wicked: next its modes of action; it driveth away good and cleaveth to evil: and finally its issue; it becomes a slave of Beliar.

*Cleaveth to* (*προσκολλᾶται—h*). *c* reads *προσκολλόμενος* (*sic*). *β* A S[1] read *προσλαμβάνει* = תְּקַבֵּל, which may be corrupt for תְּדַבֵּק = *προσκολλάται*. Cf. iii. 1.

*Ruled by Beliar.* The evil tendency is identified with Satan in Baba Bathra 16[a]. (Taylor, *Sayings*[2], p. 130). According to Sukka 52[b] it first misleads men and then testifies against them. In Shabbath 105[b] it is called a "strange god" (אל זר). The words in Ps. xci. 10 "No evil will befal thee" are interpreted by R. Chisda as meaning "The evil tendency will not rule (ישלום) over thee" (Sanh. 103[a]). In the Talmudic prayer given in Berakh. 17[a] we find: "May it be Thy will . . . to deliver us . . . from evil tendency." See Taylor (*op. cit.* 127 sq.).

9. *To do good* (*α*). *β* A S[1] read "as though to do good."

*He forces the issue of the action into evil for him.* (*τὸ τέλος τῆς πράξεως εἰς πονηρὸν αὐτῷ ἐλαύνει—α*). *β-b* A S[1] read "he forces the issue of his action into evil doing" (*τὸ τέλος τῆς πράξεως αὐτοῦ εἰς κακοποίησιν ἐλαύνει*).

*The treasure of the inclination* (*θησαυρὸς τοῦ διαβουλίου*). Observe the paranomasia in the original here (אוצר היצר), and compare Matt. xii. 35, "The evil man from out of the evil treasure bringeth forth evil things." (Taylor, *Sayings*[2], p. 151).

*Is filled with an evil spirit* (*a d g* S save that *g* reads "is born from an evil spirit"). *β-d g* read "is filled with the poison of the evil spirit," A "is filled with evil poison of the wickedness of the spirit." Since the text reads *ὁ θησαυρὸς τοῦ διαβουλίου* (+ *ἰοῦ β-d g* A) *πονηροῦ πνεύματος πεπλήρωται*, it is not improbable that *ἰοῦ* has arisen from a dittography of the last letters of *διαβουλίου*.

II. *With words helpeth* (= *ἐν λόγοις ἀντιλαμβανομένη*). So I emend the passage, for both recensions and all the versions are corrupt. *α* reads *ἐν λόγοις ἀφιστῶσα*, where *ἀφιστῶσα* = מסירה, may be corrupt for סמכה = *ἀντιλαμβανομένη* or *στηρίζουσα*. *β-g* A read *λέγουσα, φησί* (A om.), which is obviously corrupt for *λόγοις ἀφιεῖσα*. It is not likely that *ἀφιστῶσα* and *ἀφιεῖσα*

the sake of the evil, yet the issue of the action leadeth to mischief. 2. There is a man who showeth no compassion upon him who serveth his turn in evil; and this thing hath two aspects, but the whole is evil. 3. And there is a man that loveth him that worketh evil, because he would prefer ⌜even⌝ to die in evil for his sake; and concerning this it is clear that it hath two aspects, but the whole is an evil work.

| *a* | *β* S[1] |
|---|---|
| 4. †Though indeed he have love, yet is he wicked who concealeth what is evil for the sake of the good name,† but the end of the action tendeth unto evil. | 4. Though indeed there is love, yet it is wicked as it concealeth what is evil; now this thing seemeth good in name, but the end of the action tendeth unto evil. |

5. Another stealeth, doeth unjustly, plundereth, defraudeth, and withal pitieth the poor: this ⌜too⌝ hath a twofold

are independent renderings of a Hebrew word. One is a corruption of the other.

*The issue of the action leadeth.* Or we may render "it (the soul) leadeth the issue."

2. *Him who serveth his turn in evil* (*β* A S[1]). *a* is defective and reads only "those who serve his turn."

3. Here we have the case of a man who loves an evildoer because he is willing to lose his life in evildoing on his behalf (*β* S[1]). *a* A omit "on his behalf," but wrongly.

*Worketh evil.* Here *a* adds "which thing is wickedness" (ὅ ἐστι πονηρία), *d f* A S[1] "since he (ὡς αὐτός) also (*f* om.) is in wickedness," *b e g* "likewise (ὡσαύτως) is he in wickedness." The object of this clause seems (according to *d f* A S[1]) to be to explain the preceding statement, but since the real explanation is given in the words that follow, "because he is willing, etc.," this clause appears to be interpolated. It may have arisen through a dittography. *b e g* gives another turn to the sentence. If we accept it, we put a full stop after "worketh evil" and read "Likewise is he in wickedness, because, etc."

*In evil for his sake* (*β* S[1]—ἐν κακῳ δι' αὐτόν). This may be right, but *a* A point to a different meaning. *a* reads "in evil," A "in his evil."

4. A diverges slightly from the versions of *a* and *β* S[1], "though they love also, yet are they evil as they conceal the evil: now this matter appeareth good in name, but the end, etc." All texts appear to be corrupt. This verse, in its present form, refers to the same subject as ver. 3. If it does so rightly, then the word "conceal" is wrong. *a* and A seem preferable here, which agree in making the text refer to persons, and not to qualities merely. Now ὁ συγκρύπτων = המחביא, which may be corrupt for האוהב, *i.e.* ὁ ἀγαπῶν. Hence we should probably read: "Though indeed he have love, yet is he wicked who loveth what is evil: now this thing seemeth good in name, but etc."

But since the subject of ver. 3 is apparently fully dealt with as its closing words show, it is probable that the earlier part of ver. 4 is lost.

aspect, but the whole is evil. 6. He who defraudeth his neighbour provoketh God, and sweareth falsely against the Most High, and yet pitieth the poor: the Lord who commandeth the law he setteth at nought and provoketh, and yet he refresheth the poor. 7. He ⌜defileth the soul, and⌝ maketh gay the body; he killeth many, and pitieth a few: this, too, hath a twofold aspect, but the whole is evil. 8. Another committeth adultery and fornication, and abstaineth from meats, and when he fasteth he doeth evil, and by the power of his wealth overwhelmeth many; and notwithstanding his excessive wickedness he doeth ⌜the⌝ commandments: this, too, hath a twofold aspect, but the whole is evil. 9. Such men are hares; for they are half clean, but in very deed are unclean. 10. For God in the tables of the commandments hath thus declared.

III. But do not ye, my children, wear two faces like unto them, of goodness and of wickedness; but cleave unto goodness only, for God hath His habitation therein, and

6. *He who defraudeth* (*a* β-*b d*). *b d* $S^1$ read "defrauding."

*The law* (β A $S^1$). *a* om.

7. *But the whole is evil* (*c* β-*b* A). *h b* om.

8. *Committeth adultery . . . and abstaineth from meats.* Contrast T. Jos. ix. 2 "combines fasting with chastity."

*And fornication* (*καὶ πορνεύει*—*b* A $S^1$). This clause may be an addition to the text since it is given asyndetically by *a d e f g*, om. by *h i*. In *c* only *πορνεῖα* is found.

*By the power of his wealth* (*a a e f* $S^1$). *b d g* A read "by his power and his wealth."

*Notwithstanding his . . . wickedness.* The text is *ἐκ τῆς . . . κακίας*, which, if right, should be rendered "immediately after his wickedness." But the Greek = מרע, which I have taken to be corrupt for ברע. Hence the rendering in the text.

⌜*The*⌝ *commandments* (*a*). β $S^1$ read "commandments," A "mercy."

9. *Are hares* (*a* $S^1$). Cf. Lev. xi. 6, Deut. xiv. 7, where the hare is declared unclean because though it chewed the cud, it did not part the hoof. *b d g* read "are like swine, hares" (*ὡς ὗες εἰσιν δασύποδες*), A "are like shaggy swine." The reading of *a e f* points to *b d g*. Thus *a e f* read *ὅσοι εἰσίν*. The sense of the passage is clear, but it is hard to determine the exact form of the original and account for the variations. This comparison was possibly a commonplace of the Jewish schools. Thus Aristeas says that the laws relating to clean and unclean animals have a spiritual significance, § 153. The division of the hoof is a sign to man that he should distinguish all actions with a view to that which is good, § 150 (Sweet's *Introd. to O.T.* in Greek, p. 545).

10. *Tables of the commandments* (*a*). β A $S^1$ read "in the heavenly tables." This latter phrase is found in our book in T. Lev. v. 4, and in Asher vii. 5 (β A $S^1$).

III. 1. *But do not ye* (*a*). β A $S^1$ read "do not ye therefore."

*God* (β A $S^1$). *a* reads "Lord God."

men desire it. 2. But from wickedness flee away, destroying the (evil) inclination by your good works; for they that are double-faced serve not God, but their own lusts, so that they may please Beliar and men like unto themselves.

IV. For good men, even they that are of single face, though they be thought by them that are double-faced to sin, are just before God. 2. For many in killing the wicked do two works, of good and evil; but the whole is good, because he hath uprooted and destroyed that which is evil. 3. One man hateth the merciful and unjust man, and the man who committeth adultery and fasteth: this, too, has a twofold aspect, but the ⌜whole⌝ work is good, because he followeth the Lord's example, in that he accepteth not the seeming good as the genuine good. 4.

2. *But* (α). β-*a d* A om.

*Destroying the* (*evil*) *inclination by your good works.* Man was to get the mastery of the evil tendency through obedience to the law. Cf. Sir. xxi. 11; Kiddush. 30*b*; Aboth iv. 2; Aboda Zara 19*a*. See Taylor, *Sayings* iv. 2 note, etc.; Porter, *op. cit.* 126 sq. In a certain sense the evil tendency is already slain in the righteous. Thus, according to Jose the Galilean (Bacher[2], *Tan.* i. 361), there are three classes amongst men. Of these the first were the righteous, who were under the rule of the good tendency (proved from Ps. cix. 22 "my heart is wounded within me," *i.e.* my evil tendency is slain).

*The* (*evil*) *tendency* (τὸ διαβούλιον—α). This is undoubtedly the right text. The evil tendency is frequently called "the tendency" simply. β A S[1] read corruptly τὸν διάβολον, "the devil." See notes on i. 3-9. It is true, indeed, that the evil tendency is identified, in one or two cases, with Satan in Baba Bathra 16[a]; Sir. xxi. 27.

*Serve not God, but* (β A S[1]). α reads "are not Gods, but serve."

IV. 2. *For* (β A S[1]). α reads "but."

*Of good and evil* (α). β-*b g* read "good through evil," *b g* A "evil through good," S[1] "a good and an evil."

3. *The merciful and unjust man.* This is the character described in ii. 5.

*Who is an adulterer and fasteth.* This character has been described in ii. 8.

*This, too, hath a twofold aspect* (καὶ αὐτό ἐστι διπρόσωπον—β-*d g* A S[1]). *a d g* read καίγε (*d g* καὶ) αὐτός ἐστι (*c* om.) διπρόσωπος, "he also is double-faced."

*Accepteth* (προσδεχόμενος—β A S[1]). α reads προσδοκώμενος, which is corrupt for προσδεχόμενος or is a translation of מְקַוֶּה, corrupt for מְקַבֵּל = text.

*The seeming good as the genuine good.* α A[a.b] read τὸ δοκοῦν καλὸν μετὰ τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ καλοῦ. This impossible text was corrected by β into τὸ δοκοῦν καλὸν μετὰ τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ κακοῦ. This seems at first sight to give a possible text; for the preceding context does mention a seemingly good action such as fasting and a genuinely bad action such as adultery; but on further reflection this emendation cannot be admitted; for, as the word "accepteth" in the text must mean "approveth," there would be no sense in saying that the good man, like the Lord, approveth not the seeming good with the genuine bad action. Hence the text of α A[a.b] must be otherwise emended. Now the error appears to lie in μετά. This

Another desireth not to see a good day with them that riot, lest he defile his body and pollute his soul: this, too, is double-faced, but the whole is good. 5. For such men are like to stags and to hinds, because in the manner of wild animals they seem to be unclean, but they are altogether clean; because ⌜they walk⌝ in zeal for the Lord and abstain from what God also hateth and forbiddeth by His commandments, warding off the evil from the good.

V. Ye see, my children, how that there are two ⌜in all things⌝, one against the other, and the one is hidden by the other: ⌜in wealth (is hidden) covetousness, in conviviality drunkenness, in laughter grief, in wedlock profligacy⌝. 2. Death succeedeth to life, [dishonour to glory,] night to day, and darkness to light; [and all things are under the day, just things under life, ⌜unjust things under death⌝;] wherefore also eternal life† awaiteth death.

preposition, if retranslated, = בְּ, which in this, as not infrequently in the Massoretic text, is a corruption of בְּ = ὡς. Hence the rendering in our text. A similiar injunction is given in vi. 3.

4. This verse seems to regard asceticism as bad in itself, but justifiable under certain conditions and by its end.

*Desireth . . . to see a good day.* The diction seems partly borrowed from Ps. xxxiv. 12 "What man is he that desireth life and loveth many days that he may see good"? but see next note.

*To see a good day* (*h* β S[1]). *c* reads "to see good days" (= ימי טוב); A[a b] "to see good." Since the reading of *c* agrees with the LXX and Vulg. of Ps. xxxiv. 12, but not with the Massoretic, and stands alone against *h* β A S[1], it may be borrowed from the LXX. The reading of *h* β S[1], on the other hand, is probably original. "To see a good day" here would mean "to have a good time of it." Cf. Esther viii. 17 "The Jews had gladness and joy, a feast and a good day," where the LXX renders יום טוב by *εὐφροσύνη*.

5. This verse seems corrupt.

*For* (*a a b* S[1]). A reads "and," β-*a b* om.

*In the manner of wild animals* (*ἐν ἤθει ἀγρίων—a a d e*). β-*a d e* S[1] read "in a wild condition" (*ἐν ἤθει ἀγρίῳ*).

*Lord* (*a*). β A S[1] read "God."

*What . . . commandments* (*h* β-*g* S[1]). *c* reads "what God hateth," A "what God also ordereth them through His commandments to hate."

*Warding off the evil from the good* (*e f*). *b d* S[1] read "and they ward off, etc.," A "and to ward off, etc.," *c a* om., and *h g* are defective.

V. 1. See i. 4 note.

⌜*In wealth . . . profligacy*⌝. So *a a d e f* S[1] save that *a* omits "in wealth . . . covetousness," and that for "profligacy" (*ἀσωτία*), which *a* reads, *a e* S[1] read *ἀκρασία*, *d ἀτεκνία*, while *f* omits.

2. *Dishonour to glory . . . and all things are under the day, . . . under death.* These clauses I have bracketed as intrusions.

⌜*Unjust things under death*⌝ (*a*). β A S[1] omit.

*Eternal life.* Cf. Dan. xii. 1; 1 En. xxxvii. 4, xl. 9, lviii. 3, etc.

*Awaiteth.* Context requires "followeth upon" or "ariseth after." See Introduction on this passage.

3. Nor may it be said that truth is a lie, nor right wrong; for all truth is under the light, ⌜even as all things are under God⌝. 4. All these things, therefore, I proved in my life, and I wandered not from the truth of the Lord, and I searched out the commandments of the Most High, walking according to all my strength with singleness of face unto that which is good.

VI. Take heed, therefore, ye also, my children, to the commandments of the Lord, following the truth with singleness of face. 2. For they that are double-faced are guilty of a twofold sin; ⌜for they both do the evil thing and they have pleasure in them that do it,⌝ following the example of the spirits of deceit, and striving against mankind. 3. Do ye, ⌜therefore, my children⌝, keep the law of the Lord, and give not heed unto evil as unto good; but look unto the thing that is really good, and keep it in all commandments

4. *Therefore* (*a* A). *β* $S^1$ omit.

*With singleness of face unto that which is good* (*β* A $S^1$). *a* omits.

VI. 2. *Are guilty of a double sin.* The text reads *διττῶς κολάζονται.* But there is no question of punishment here but of guilt. The twofold nature of the guilt is then explained. Now *κολάζονται* = יאשמו or יחטעו, which should here have been rendered *ἁμαρτάνουσι.* We can find another instance of the same error in 1 En. v. 9, where the Ethiopic = *οὐ κολασθήσονται* and the Gizeh Greek version as *οὐ μὴ ἁμάρτωσιν.* In this case the latter is right. Both are renderings of the same Hebrew verb.

*For they both do the evil thing and have pleasure in them that do it* (*a a d e f* $S^1$). This clause has been taken over by St. Paul in Rom. i. 22. *b g* A wrongly omit it. Without it the context is meaningless. Such people, our text proceeds to state, are like evil spirits and are foes to mankind. See ii. 3, where we have the case of a man who loves an evildoer because of his evildoing. The substance of the words in the text have already been given in iii. 2, where the double-faced are said to serve their own lusts (cf. "do the evil thing"), in order that they may please men like themselves (cf. "have pleasure in them that do them").

*Following the example of the spirits of deceit and striving against mankind* (*a*). *a e f* $S^1$ "following the example of the spirits of evil which strive against mankind." *b g* A owing to the loss of the preceding clause rewrote the text. *d* is conflate as frequent. *b d g* A read: "evil spirits hate ye which (*d* "because they") strive against mankind."

3. ⌜*Ye, therefore, my children*⌝ (*a a e f* $S^1$). *b d g* A omit.

*That is really good.* Cf. iv. 3.

4-6. The nature of a man's latter end reveals his character; for if he dies troubled in spirit, it is because he meets the angels of Beliar awaiting him, whereas if he dies peacefully it is because he meets the angel of peace who conveys him to eternal life.

This idea that the souls of the departed are met either by good or bad angels on leaving the body appears here for the first time in Jewish literature. According to Kethuboth 104[a] and Num. R. xi. three bands of ministering angels (מלאכי השרת) accompany the righteous soul, the first singing, "he shall enter into peace"; the second, "they shall rest on their couches"; the third, "the

of the Lord, having your conversation therein, and resting therein. 4. For the latter ends of men do show their righteousness (or unrighteousness), when they meet the angels of the Lord and of Satan. 5. For when the soul departs troubled, it is tormented by the evil spirit which also it served in lusts and evil works.

| *a* | *β* A S[1] |
|---|---|
| 6. But if he is peaceful with joy he meeteth the angel of peace, and he leadeth him into eternal life. | 6. But if peacefully ⌜with joy⌝, he hath met the angel of peace, he †comforteth him with life. |

VII. Become not, my children, as Sodom, which knew not the angels of the Lord, and perished for ever. 2. For

one who walketh in uprightness" (Is. lvii. 2). When a wicked man dies, three bands of angels of destruction (מלאכי חבלה) announce to him: "There is no peace, saith my God to the wicked" (Is. lvii. 21). Again in Sifre 149[b] it is said that when God takes away the soul of the righteous, He takes it into (or "in") peacefulness of spirit (בנחת רוח), but when He takes away the soul of the wicked He delivers it up to evil angels (מלאכים רעים), to rend forth his soul. The latter passage looks as if it were dependent on our text. See *Jewish Encyc.* i. 593; Weber's[2] *Jüd. Theol.* 339.

4. *They meet.* *a* reads "and are known to" (*καὶ γνωρίζονται*), *β* S[1] "knowing" (*γνωρίζοντες, d g γνωριζόντων*), A = *καὶ γνωρίζειν* ("and they know"). Verb is corrupt in all cases. The corruption is most easily detected in *a*. *γνωρίζονται τοῖς ἀγγέλοις* = יודעו למלאכים, where the verb is corrupt for יועדו, *συναντῶσι* "meet." The LXX implies the same corruption in Amos iii. 3 *ἐὰν μὴ γνωρίσωσιν ἑαυτούς* where the Massoretic has אם-נועדו. The corruption in our text was probably due to vii. 1, where Asher bids his children not to be like Sodom, which knew not (*ἠγνόησε*) the angels of the Lord.

*The angels* (*τοὺς ἀγγέλους—a b d g* S[1]). *a e f* read "to the angels" (*τοῖς ἀγγέλοις*). A = *τὸν νόμον*.

*Satan* (*β* A S[1]). *α* reads "Beliar."

5. *When* (*a e f*). *a b d g* read "if."

*Troubled* (*τεταραγμένη—β* A S[1]). *α* reads *πονηρά* = רשעה, which may be a corruption of רעושה = *τεταραγμένη*.

6. *If it is peaceful †with joy†* (*α*). So also S[1], save that it omits "with joy." This phrase is not supported by the parallelism, and is likewise omitted by A S[1]. It seems to be either a corruption or an intrusion. For, for *ἐν χαρᾷ* we should expect *ἀπέρχηται*. Cf. ver. 5. If it is original it should be connected with the following verb.

*Meets.* *α* reads *γνωρίσει* and *β* A S[1] *ἐγνώρισε*, but we should read *συναντήσει* or *συνήντησε* here as in ver. 4, where the explanation of the corruption is given.

*Angel of peace.* See T. Dan vi. 5.

*And he leadeth him into eternal life* (*καὶ εἰσφέρει αὐτὸν εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον —α*). *β* A read "who comforteth him with life †*παρακαλοῦντα* (*a e f †παραμυθεῖται, b παρακαλέσει*) *αὐτὸν ἐν ζωῇ*. Here *εἰσφέρει* = מנחה which was corrupted into מנחם, and so became the source of the false *παραμυθεῖται* or *παρακαλοῦντα*. Similar corruptions are found in 1 Sam. xxii. 4; Is. lvii. 18. The text of *α* is confirmed by T. Benj. vi. 1, where "the angel of peace leads (*ὁδηγεῖ*) the soul." Here *ὁδηγεῖ* = מנחה.

VII. 1. *Sodom* (*α β*). A S[1] read "Sodomites."

*Angels of the Lord* (*α β* S[1]). A reads "the angel of peace."

I know that ye shall sin, and be delivered into the hands of your enemies; ⌜and⌝ your land shall be made desolate, and your holy places destroyed, and ye shall be scattered unto the four corners of the earth. And ye shall be set at nought in the dispersion as useless water, 3. Until the Most High shall visit the earth, coming Himself [as man, with men eating and drinking], and breaking the head of the dragon in the water. He shall save Israel and all the Gentiles [God speaking in the person of man]. [4. Therefore do ⌜ye also, my children,⌝ tell these things to your children, that they disobey Him not. 5. For I have known that ye shall assuredly be disobedient, and assuredly act ungodly, not giving heed to the law of God, but to the commandments of men, being corrupted through wickedness. 6. And therefore shall ye be scattered as Gad and Dan my brethren, and ye shall know not your own lands, tribe, and

2. Asher predicts that his children will fall into sin and be sent into exile. Cf. T. Sim. v. 3 sqq.; T. Lev. x., xiv.–xvi.; T. Jud. xxiii.; T. Iss. vi. 1, 2; T. Zeb. ix. 6; T. Dan v. 8; T. Gad viii. 2.

*Delivered into the hands of your enemies.* Cf. T. Iss. vi. 2; T. Zeb. ix. 6.

*Your land shall be made desolate.* Cf. T. Jud. xxiii. 3.

*Your holy places destroyed.* Cf. T. Lev. x. 3; xv. 1, xvi. 4; T. Jud. xxiii. 3.

*Ye shall be scattered*, etc. Cf. ver. 6, T. Lev. x. 4, xvi. 1, 5; T. Iss. vi. 2.

3. This verse describes a theophany after the manner of the Old Testament and the destruction of the primeval enemy of God and man. The Christian additions are obvious.

*And breaking* (*c*). *h* β A $S^1$ read "and (*h f* omit) in peace breaking."

*Breaking the head of the dragon*, etc. These words are drawn from Ps. lxxiv. 13.

*In the water* (ἐπὶ τοῦ ὕδατος—*g* $A^{c}$ *f g*). *a* β-*g* read διὰ τοῦ ὕδατος, where the διά may be due to Christian influence.

*And all the Gentiles.* The universalism of the greater O.T. prophets is reproduced by our author. Cf. Jer. iv. 2, xvi. 19, iii. 17, who teaches that only the finally impenitent are to be destroyed (xii. 16, 17). The nations are the subjects of the divine mercy in Is. ii. 2-4, xix. 16-25, xlv. 14, xlix. 6, Pss. xxii. 27-31, lxv. 2. See note on T. Benj. ix. 2.

4-7. A 1st cent. B.C. addition. Cf. T. Gad viii. 2.

4. *Ye also, my children* (α). β A $S^1$ om.

5. *I have known* (*a a e f* $S^1$). *b d g* A read "I have read." β A $S^1$ add "in the heavenly tables." For this phrase Cf. ii. 10.

*Shall assuredly be disobedient* (*c*). *h i* β A $S^1$ add "unto him."

*Act ungodly* (α). β A $S^1$ read "act ungodly towards him."

*Being corrupted through wickedness* (α). *d e g* read μονοπροσώπῳ κακίᾳ φερόμενοι "being carried away by sheer (?) wickedness," A "ye are falling into wickedness," but by a slight emendation A can be brought into line with α. *a b* om.

6. *And therefore* (*h i*). A reads "but therefore," β $S^1$ "therefore," *c* "and."

*Scattered as Gad and Dan.* See T. Gad viii. 2; T. Dan v. 8, vii. 3.

*And ye shall not know* (α). β reads "who shall not know," A "who knew not."

tongue. 7. But the Lord will gather you together in faith through His tender mercy, ⌜and⌝ for the sake of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.]

VIII. And when he had said these things unto them, he commanded saying: Bury me in Hebron. And he fell asleep and died at a good old age. 2. And his sons did as he had commanded them, and they carried him up to Hebron, and buried him with his fathers.

7. *He* (*a e*). *β-e* A $S^1$ read "the Lord."

*Through His tender mercy* (*a*). *β* A $S^1$ read "through the hope of His tender mercy."

⌜*And*⌝ (*a d*). *β -d* A $S^1$ om.

VIII. 1. *Saying* (*a*). *β* A $S^1$ read "saying unto them."

*At a good old age.* Cf. T. Iss. vii. 9; T. Benj. xii. 2. The text reads "in a good sleep," and thus shows the same corruption as in T. Zeb. x. 6, where see note.

2. *And his sons* (*a*). *β-d* A $S^1$ read "and after this his sons."

*To Hebron* (*a*). *β* A $S^1$ om.

At the close *f* $S^1$ read "Asher the tenth son of Jacob, the second son of Zilpah, and he lived 126 years. A similar statement is found in *g*.

# THE TESTAMENT OF JOSEPH, THE ELEVENTH SON OF JACOB AND RACHEL

I. The copy of the testament of Joseph. When he was about to die he called his sons and his brethren together, and said to them: 2. My brethren and my children,

Hearken to Joseph the beloved of Israel;

Give ear, my sons, unto your father.

Title. $\alpha$ in text save that for "of Rachel" $h$ reads "first of Rachel." $b\,e\,f\,\mathrm{S}^1$ read "Testament of Joseph (+ "the eleventh" $b$) concerning sobriety" (+ "Joseph is by interpretation 'removal of reproach'" $f$), $a$ "Joseph," $\mathrm{A\,S}^2$ "Testament of Joseph" (+ concerning envy" $\mathrm{A}^{\mathrm{bhefg}}$).

I.–X. 4. This section, if it belongs to the original text, is not at all events in its right place. x. 5–xvi. should be read immediately after Chapter i., if we are to have any historical sequence, but the fact that xvii.–xviii. are from the same hand as x. 5–xvi. is against this. Moreover, i. seems to be from the same author as ii.–x. 4. Thus there appear to be two independent writings, i.–x. 4 and x. 5–xviii.

The grounds for this statement will now be adduced. First of all, the theme of x. 5–xviii. is brotherly love, whereas that of i.–x. 4 is chastity. Next, in x. 5–xvi. Potiphar is called Pentephri or Pentephris xii. 1, xiii. 1, 3, 5 (so $a$, but $\beta\,\mathrm{S}^1$ "chief eunuch," A om.), xv. 6, whereas in ii.–x. 4 he is called "the Egyptian man" iv. 5 ($\beta\,\mathrm{S}^1$ but $\alpha\,\mathrm{A}$ "my husband"), v. 1 ($\beta\,\mathrm{A\,S}^1$ but $\alpha$ "my husband"), vii. 2 ($\beta\,\mathrm{A}^{\mathrm{bfg}}\,\mathrm{S}^1$ but $\alpha\,\mathrm{A}^{\text{-bfg}}$ "her husband"). He is called "my husband" in both sections iv. 1, 2, 5 ($\alpha\,\mathrm{A}$ but $\beta\,\mathrm{S}^1$ "the Egyptian man"), v. 1 ($\alpha$), vii. 2 ($\alpha\,\mathrm{A}^{\text{-bfg}}$), xiv. 1 ($\beta\,\mathrm{S}^1$), 3 ($\alpha$), xvi. 1. Hence we can find no evidence here. Again in ii.–x. 4 Potiphar's wife is called "the Egyptian woman" iii. 1, iv. 3 ($\beta$-$a\,\mathrm{A\,S}^1$; here $\alpha$ reads differently), viii. 1 ($\beta$-$d\,\mathrm{A\,S}^1$), viii. 5 (*bis*), whereas in x. 5–xvi. we have "the Memphian woman," xii. 1, xiv. 1, 5 ($\beta\,\mathrm{A\,S}^1$ but $\alpha$ om.) xvi. 1. On the other hand $\beta$-$d$ corruptly read "the Egyptian woman" in xvi. 4 against $d\,\mathrm{A}$, and all MSS. give the conflate reading "the Memphian woman the Egyptian woman" in iii. 6. The above evidence is sufficient to show that two different sources are behind the sections in question. Furthermore the coherence of x. 5–xvii. is shown by the recurrence of the phrase "Joseph the son of a mighty man" in x. 6, xv. 2 and of the clause, "I held my peace lest I should put to shame, etc." or its equivalent in x. 6, xi. 2, xv. 3, xvi. 5, xvii. 1. See also different phraseology in ii. 3 as compared with xi. 6. Finally, throughout the Testaments the duty of telling the truth is laid down repeatedly—yet in x. 5-xviii. Joseph lies several times. Hence, probably, i.-x. 4 belongs to the author of the Testaments, but not x. 5-xviii. But there are difficulties in this solution.

2. *My brethren and children* ($\alpha\,\mathrm{A}^{\mathrm{abh}}$ save that $h$ omits "and children"). $\beta\,\mathrm{S}^1$ read "my children and brethren." $\mathrm{A}^{\mathrm{b*cdfg}}$ om.

*My sons, unto your father* ($\beta\,\mathrm{A\,S}^1$). $\alpha$ reads "the words of my mouth," but the parallelism favours the former.

3. I have seen in my life envy and death,
   Yet I went not astray, ⌜but persevered⌝ in the truth of the Lord.
4. These my brethren hated me, but the Lord loved me:
   They wished to slay me, but the God of my fathers guarded me:
   They let me down into a pit, and the Most High brought me up again.
5. I was sold into slavery, and the Lord of all made me free:
   I was taken into captivity, and His strong hand succoured me.
   I was beset with hunger, and the Lord Himself nourished me.
6. I was alone, and God comforted me:
   I was sick, and the Lord visited me:
   I was in prison, and my God showed favour unto me;
   In bonds, and He released me;
7. Slandered, and He pleaded my cause;
   Bitterly spoken against by the Egyptians, and He delivered me;
   Envied by my fellow-slaves, and He exalted me.

3. ⌜*But persevered*⌝ (*a a e f* $S^1$). *b g* A om.

5. *Into slavery* (*a* A). *β* S read "to be a slave."

*I was beset with hunger*, etc. Cf. Matt. xxv. 35 "I was an hungred and ye gave Me meat."

6. *Alone.* *c* omits rest of verse and first four words of ver. 8 through hmt.

*The Lord* (*a e f*). *b d g* S read "Most High," A "God."

*I was sick, and the Lord visited me.* Cf. Matt. xxv. 36, "I was sick and ye visited Me."

*I was in prison*, etc. Cf. Matt. xxv. 36 "I was in prison and ye came unto Me."

*My God* ($A^{b*}$ c d f g). $S^1$ reads "Lord," *α β* $S^2$ "the Saviour." The last is due to Christian influence.

*In bonds, and He released me*—*ἐν δεσμοῖς καὶ ἔλυσέ με.* *d* omits this line but it is found in all other MSS. and A $S^1$. It may nevertheless be an interpolation. It may be a dittography of the preceding line, *ἐν φυλακῇ ἤμην καὶ θεός μου ἐχαρίτωσέ με.* Thus *ἐν φυλακῇ* and *ἐν δεσμοῖς* can both go back to בבסנר, and *ἐχαρίτωσε*=חנן, which might have been corrupted into חתיר *ἔλυσε.* If we omit it, verses 4, 5, 6, 7 form four stanzas of three lines each. This line, however, is said in Yoma $35^b$ to have been used by Joseph to Potiphar's wife.

7. *Slandered.* Literally "in slanders."

*Spoken against by the Egyptians* (*ἐν λόγοις Αἰγυπτίων*). *a* reads "spoken against for (my) dreams" (?) (*ἐν λόγοις ἐνυπνίων*).

*Envied by my fellow-slaves* (*d e g* $A^{ab}$). *a* reads "a slave." *b* $S^1$ give corrupt forms of *d e g* $A^{ab}$. $A^{cdefg}$ om. Cf. x. 4.

II. And this chief captain of Pharaoh entrusted to me his house. 2. And I struggled against a shameless woman, urging me to transgress with her; but the God of Israel my father delivered me from the burning flame. 3. I was cast into prison, I was beaten, ⌜I was mocked⌝; but the Lord granted me to find mercy in the sight of the keeper of the prison.

4. For the Lord doth not forsake them that fear Him,
Neither in darkness, nor in bonds, nor in tribulations,
nor in necessities.

5. For God is not put to shame as a man,
Nor as the son of man is He afraid,
Nor as one that is earth-born is He [weak or] affrighted.

| *α* | *β* A S |
|---|---|
| 6. But in all these things doth He give protection, | 6. But in all places He is at hand, |
| And in divers ways doth He comfort, | |
| (Though) for a little space He departeth to try the inclination of the soul. | |

II. 1. *This chief captain of Pharaoh* (*α*). *β-b* read "the ("thus the" *e g*) eunuch of Pharaoh," A "so Petaphres" (A$^{bcdfg}$ "Photiphar"). *ἀρχιμάγειρος* which I have here rendered "chief captain" is a misrendering of שר־הטבחים. The same rendering is found in the LXX of Gen. xxxvii. 36 and Jub. xxxiv. 11.

2. *My father* (*h* A$^{b*cdfg}$). *b e f g* A$^{abh}$ S$^{1}$ read "Israel my father," *a d* "my father Jacob," *c* "my fathers."

3. *Granted me to find mercy in the sight of.* The text ἔδωκέ με . . εἰς οἰκτιρμοὺς ἐνώπιον is a literal reproduction of נתן אתי לרחמים לפני. Cf. Dan. i. 9. Contrast xi. 6, where the author of that section follows Gen. xxxix. 21 in giving a different phrase with the same meaning.

4. *The Lord* (*α a d e f* A). *b g* S$^{1}$ om. *Doth . . . forsake* (*α d* A). *β-d* S$^{1}$ read "will . . . forsake."

5. Cf. Num. xxiii. 19; 1 Sam. xv. 29.

*Is He* [*weak or*] *affrighted* (*ἀσθενεῖ ἢ πτοεῖται*). I have bracketed *ἀσθενεῖ* as an addition to the text. Possibly with *πτοεῖται* it forms an alternative rendering of יֵחַת.

*Affrighted* (*πτοεῖται—α*). *β* A S$^{1}$ read *ἀπωθεῖται* "is rejected," which is probably a corruption of *πτοεῖται*.

6. *But* (*α β* S$^{1}$). A reads "for."

*These things* (*τούτοις—α β-b g*). *b g* A$^{abh}$ S$^{1}$ read "places" (*τόποις*).

*Doth He give protection* (*προίσταται —α*). *β* S$^{1}$ read "is He at hand" (*παρίσταται*). A = "is."

*Departeth* (*α*). *β* A read "departing." From Is. liv. 7.

7. In ten temptations He showed me approved,
And in all of them I endured;
For endurance is a mighty charm,
And patience giveth many good things.

III. How often did the Egyptian woman threaten me with death! How often did she give me over to punishment, and then call me back and threaten me, and when I was unwilling to company with her, she said to me: 2. Thou shalt be lord of me, and all that is in mine house, if thou wilt give thyself unto me, and thou shalt be as our master. 3. But I remembered the words of my father, and going into my chamber, ⌜I wept and prayed unto the Lord. 4. And I fasted in those seven years, and I appeared to the Egyptians as one living delicately, for they that fast for God's sake receive beauty of face. 5. And if my lord were away from home, I drank no wine; nor for three days did

7. *Ten* ($\beta$ A). $a$ reads "eleven."

*Ten temptations.* According to Jub. xix. 8, *Sayings of the Fathers* v. 4 (see note in Taylor's ed.). Abraham was tried with ten temptations. See note on my edition of Jub. xvii. 17.

7. *Patience.* A="to those who endure."

III. 1. *And when . . . she said unto me* ($a$). $\beta$-$a$ $A^a$ $S^1$ read "when I was unwilling to company with her! And she said unto me."

2. *That is in mine house* ($a$). $\beta$ A $S^1$ read "that is mine."

3. *But* ($\delta\acute{\epsilon}$—$a$ $\beta$-$b$ A). $b$ $S^1$ read "therefore" ($o\tilde{\upsilon}\nu$).

*The words of my father* ($c$). $d$ $g$ A read "the words of my father, Jacob." Cf. Jub. xxxix. 6 "But (Joseph) did not surrender his soul but remembered . . . the words which Jacob his father used to read from amongst the words of Abraham." Abraham's commands on this question are given in Jub. xx. 4, xxv. 7. According to Soteh 36$^b$, Gen. rabba lxxxvii. the image of Jacob appeared at the window and exhorted Joseph to be faithful. $h$ $a$ $e$ $f$ $S^1$ reads "the words of my fathers," $b$ "the words of the fathers of my father Jacob."

⌜*Wept and*⌝ ($a$). $\beta$ A $S^1$ om.

*Fasted . . . and appeared . . . as living delicately.* Cf. Matt. vi. 16.

*The Lord* ($a$ $\beta$ $S^1$). A read "God."

4. *Seven years.* According to Jub. xlvi. 3 Joseph was a servant in Potiphar's house for ten years.

*The Egyptians* ($c$). The other MSS and Versions read "the Egyptian."

*For they that fast*, etc. Our author may have been thinking of Dan. i. 15. On the connection of prayer and fasting, see iv. 8, x. 1.

5. Of this verse we are strongly reminded by Luke xii. 45 "But if that servant shall say in his heart, My lord delayeth his coming, and shall begin . . . to eat and to drink and to be drunken." With the statements in the text we should compare those in Zeb. 118$^b$, where it is said that whilst the other slaves were lustful Joseph was chaste, where they were rapacious Joseph never enjoyed anything that was not his (see *Jewish Ency.* vii. 249).

*Lord* ($a$). $\beta$ $S^1$ om. A is corrupt but possibly goes back to our text.

*Away from home* ($\dot{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\delta\acute{\eta}\mu\epsilon\iota$—$a$ $a$ $e$ $f$ $g$, though all more or less corruptly save $e$ $f$). A=$\dot{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\delta\acute{\eta}\mu\upsilon\nu$, $b$ $\dot{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\eta$.

I take my food, but I gave it to the poor and sick. 6. And I sought the Lord early, and I wept for the Egyptian woman of Memphis, for very unceasingly did she trouble me, for also at night she came to me under pretence of visiting me.

| | $\beta$ A $S^1$ |
|---|---|
| 7. And because she had no male child she pretended to regard me as a son. | 7. And because she had no male child she pretended to regard me as a son, and so I prayed to the Lord, and she bare a male child. |

8. And for a time she embraced me as a son, and I knew it not; †but later, she sought to draw me into fornication. 9. And when I perceived it I sorrowed unto death; and when she had gone out, I came to myself, and I lamented for her many days, because I recognised her guile and her deceit. 10. And I declared unto her the words of the Most High, if haply she would turn from her evil lust.

IV. Often, therefore, did she flatter me with words as a holy man, and guilefully in her talk praise my chastity before her husband, while desiring to ensnare me when we were alone. 2. ⌜For⌝ she lauded me openly as chaste, and in secret she said unto me: Fear not my husband; for he is persuaded concerning thy chastity: for even should one tell him concerning us, he would not believe. 3. Owing to all these things I lay upon the ground, and

6. *The Egyptian woman of Memphis.* This looks like a conflate text.

*For also* ($\alpha$ *d*). $\beta$-*d* A $S^1$ read "and."

7. *And because* ($\alpha$ $\beta$-*b d* A). *b d* read "and at first because."

*And so I prayed*, etc. The context is better without this clause.

8. *And for a time* ($\alpha$ A). $\beta$-*b* read "for a time," *b* $S^1$ "for a time therefore."

*But I knew it not; but later.* Perhaps we should read "but I knew not till later that." Cf. xiv. 4.

*But later* ($\alpha$). *a* reads "that," *b e* $S^1$ "finally," *f* "later," A "and after this."

*Sought to draw* (ἀφελκύετο—*a d*). *a b e f g* $S^1$ read "drew" (ἐφελκύσατο), $A^{b*}$ *c d f g* "wished to draw."

*I came to myself.* Cf. Luke xv. 17.

IV. 1. *Often, therefore* ($\alpha$). $\beta$-*a* A $S^1$ read "how often?"

2. *For* ($\alpha$). $\beta$ A $S^1$ om.

3. *Lay upon the ground* ($\alpha$). $\beta$ A $S^1$ add "in sackcloth" (+"and ashes" A).

besought God that the Lord would deliver me from her deceit. 4. And when she prevailed nothing ⌜thereby⌝, she came ⌜again⌝ to me under the plea of instruction, that she might learn the word of God. 5. And she said unto me: If thou willest that I should leave my idols, lie with me, and I will persuade my husband to depart from his idols, and we will walk in the law of thy Lord. 6. And I said unto her: The Lord willeth not that those that reverence Him should be in uncleanness, nor doth He take pleasure in them that commit adultery, ⌜but in those that approach Him with a pure heart and undefiled lips⌝. 7. But she held her peace, longing to accomplish her evil desire. 8. And I gave myself yet more to fasting and prayer, that the Lord might deliver me from her.

V. ⌜And⌝ again, at another time she said unto me: If thou wilt not commit adultery, I will kill my husband by poison, and take thee to be my husband. 2. I therefore, when I heard this, rent my garments, and said unto her: Woman, reverence God, and do not this evil deed, lest thou be destroyed; for know indeed that I will declare this thy device unto all men. 3. She therefore, being afraid, besought that I would not declare this device. 4. And she

*Her deceit* (δολιοτητος αὐτῆς—α). β-α A $S^1$ read "the Egyptian woman" (Αἰγυπτίας). The former = תרמיתה, which may have been corrupted into or a corruption of המצרית.

4. ⌜*Thereby*⌝ (α). β A $S^1$ om.

*God* (α). β A $S^1$ read "the Lord."

5. *My husband* (α A). β $S^1$ read "the Egyptian" (+"Potiphar" $S^1$).

*In the law* (β A $S^1$). *c* reads "before," *h* "in the name of."

6. ⌜*But in those*, etc.⌝ (α). β A $S^1$ om.

7. *She held her peace* (ἐσιώπησε *b g* A). α reads ἀντεφιλονείκει. β-*b g* ἐφιλονείκει = "was angry" being translations of תתחרה. On the other hand, ἐσιώπησε = התחרשה, of which I take the former to be a corruption.

8. *I gave myself yet more to fasting* (προσετίθουν νηστείαν). Here προστίθημι appears to be a rendering of יסף.

V. 1. *And* (α *b* $S^1$). *a e f g* A om.

*My husband by poison, and* (τὸν ἄνδρα μου φαρμάκῳ καί—α). β A $S^1$ read "the Egyptian and so lawfully" (τὸν Αἰγύπτιον καὶ οὕτως νομίμως [α νομίσας, *b* νόμῳ]). Here φαρμάκῳ = בחכמה, whereas νομίμως = בחקה.

2. ⌜*Unto her*⌝ (α *d*). β-*d* A $S^1$ om.

*God* (α *f*). β-*f* A $S^1$ read "the Lord."

*Know indeed that I will declare this thy device* (α). β A $S^1$ read "I will declare thy ungodly device (ἐπίνοιαν τῆς ἀσεβείας). Here "know" in α = γίνωσκε = דע, which in β A $S^1$ seems to appear in the next clause as רע = τῆς ἀσεβείας.

3. *Would not declare this device* (α). β-*g* A $S^1$ read "would declare to no one her wickedness."

departed, soothing me with gifts, and sending to me every delight of the sons of men.

VI. And ⌜afterwards⌝ she sent me food mingled with enchantments. 2. And when the eunuch who brought it came, I looked up and beheld a terrible man giving me with the dish a sword, and I perceived that (her) scheme was to beguile me. 3. And ⌜when he had gone out⌝ I wept, nor did I taste that nor any other of her food. 4. So then after one day she came to me and observed the food, and said unto me: Why is it that thou hast not eaten of the food? 5. And I said unto her: It is because thou hast filled it with ⌜deadly⌝ enchantments; and how saidst thou: I come not near to idols, but to the Lord ⌜alone⌝? 6. Now therefore know that the God of my father hath revealed unto me by His angel thy wickedness, and I have kept it to convict thee, if haply thou mayest see and repent.

*α*

7. But that thou mayest learn that the wickedness of the ungodly hath no power over them that worship God with chastity, behold I will take of it and eat before thee. And having so said, I prayed thus: The God of my fathers and the angel of Abraham, be with me; and ate.

*β* A $S^1$

7. But that thou mayest learn that the wickedness of the ungodly hath no power over them that worship God in chastity, I took of it and ate before her, saying: The God of my fathers and the angel of Abraham shall be with me.

4. *Sending . . . every delight of the sons of men* (*β-d* A $S^1$). *α* "every delight" (in acc.).

VI. 1. *Afterwards* (*α*). *β-d* A om.

2. *It* (*c β*). A reads "the food."

(*Her*) *scheme was to beguile me* (*α*). *β-d* $A^{abh}$ $S^1$ read "this (*b* "her") scheme was to beguile (+"the soul" *g*)."

4. *And* (*α f g* A). *b d* $S^1$ read "accordingly."

5. *Deadly enchantments* (*α*). *β* A $S^1$ read "death."

6. *My father* (*α β*). A reads "my fathers."

*His angel* (*α* A). *β-d g* reads "an angel."

7. *Angel of Abraham.* Is he Michael or the angel of peace?

8. And ⌜when she saw this⌝ she fell upon her face at my feet, weeping; and I raised her up and admonished her. 9. And she promised to do this iniquity no more.

*α*

VII. But her heart was still set upon evil, and she looked around how to ensnare me, and sighing deeply she became downcast, though she was not sick.

*β* A $S^1$

VII. But (*d* A "nevertheless") her heart was still set upon me with a view to lewdness, and sighing she became downcast.

2. And when her husband saw her, he said unto her: Why is thy countenance fallen? And she said ⌜unto him⌝: I have a pain at my heart, and the groanings of my spirit oppress me; and so he comforted her who was not sick. 3. Then accordingly seizing an opportunity she rushed unto me while her husband was yet without, and said unto me: I will hang myself, or cast myself over a cliff, if thou wilt not lie with me. 4. And when I saw the spirit of Beliar was troubling her, I prayed unto the Lord, and said unto

8. ⌜*When she saw this*⌝ (*α*). *β* A $S^1$ om.

*Weeping* (*α*). *β* $S^1$ read "and she wept," A "she wept."

VII. 1. The *α* recension presents no difficulty, except in the use of the word *συνέπιπτε* ("became downcast"), which it reads in common with *β* A $S^1$. The absolute use of this verb in the sense of "to be downcast," has occurred already in T. Zeb. x. 1, but it is hard to justify it. Hence with *d* we should here supply *τῷ προσώπῳ* (A supplies *πνεύματι*). This addition is supported by the next verse *τί συνέπεσε τὸ πρόσωπόν σου*;

*Deeply.* *α* reads *συντόμως*, which I have taken to be corrupt for *συντόνως*.

In the *β* A $S^1$ recensions there are some variants, which will now be dealt with in succession.

*Set upon me with a view to lewdness* (*b d g* A). *α e f* $S^1$ read "was set upon lewdness" (*ἀκολασίαν*). The latter agrees with *α* save that *α* reads "evil" (*κακόν*).

*Sighing she became downcast.* In the first note on this verse, I have drawn attention to the difficulty of the text. A is here slightly corrupt, but when emended = *πνεύματι συμπεσοῦσα ἐστέναξε*.

2. *Her husband* (*ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς*—*α* $A^{-bfg}$). *β* $A^{bfg}$ $S^1$ read "the Egyptian man."

*To him* (*α*). *β* A $S^1$ om.

*Who was not sick* (*μὴ ἀσθενοῦσαν*—*β* A $S^1$). *α* reads *ἐν λόγοις*. This divergence has arisen through a corruption in the Hebrew. The former = לֹא חֹלָה, which apparently was corrupted into בְּמַלָּה, or לא אמללה into במילול (late Hebrew).

3. *Then accordingly seizing an opportunity* (*α*). *β-d* $S^1$ read "then"; *d* "one day"; $A^{ab}$ "and when I was passing"; $A^{b*cdg}$ "and on the second day."

*Cast myself over a cliff* (*α α e f* $S^1$). *b* (*d*) *g* $A^{b*cd}$ read "cast myself into a well or over a cliff," $A^{ab}$ "cast myself into a well."

her: 5. Why, ⌜wretched woman,⌝ art thou troubled and disturbed, blinded through sins? Remember that if thou kill thyself, Asteho, the concubine of thy husband, thy rival, will beat thy children, and thou wilt destroy thy memorial from off the earth. 6. And she said unto me: Lo, then thou lovest me; let this suffice me: only strive for my life ⌜and my children⌝, and I expect that I shall enjoy my desire ⌜also⌝. 7. But she knew not that because of my lord I spake thus, and not because of her. 8. For if a man hath fallen before the passion of a wicked desire and become enslaved by it, even as she, whatever good thing he may hear with regard to that passion, he receiveth it with a view to his wicked desire.

VIII. I declare, therefore, unto you, my children, that it was about the sixth hour when she departed from me; and I knelt before the Lord all the day, and all the night; and about dawn I rose up, weeping the while and praying for a release from her. 2. At last, then, she laid hold of my garments, forcibly dragging me to have connection with her.

| α A | β S |
|---|---|
| 3. When, ⌜therefore,⌝ I saw that in her madness she was holding fast to my | 3. When, therefore, I saw that in her madness she was holding fast by force |

5. ⌜*Wretched woman*⌝ (α). β A $S^1$ om.

*Asteho* (α). *e f* $A^{b*}$ *g* read "Asitho"; *b* "Setho."

*Thy children* (α β). A read "thy child."

*Thou wilt destroy* (α β-*b g* $S^1$). *b g* read "she will destroy"; A "she destroys."

6. *Let this suffice me: only strive for* (α). β A $S^1$ read "this (β-*d* $S^1$ om.) alone (A om.) suffices me that (α *f* om.) thou strivest for" (emending ἀντιποιῆσαι of β-*b* into ἀντιποιῇ with *b* A $S^1$.

*And I have* (α). α reads "if I have"; β-α *d g* $S^1$ "I have"; *d g* A "I have therefore."

⌜*Also*⌝ (α). β A $S^1$ om.

7. *My lord* (α β-*b d* $S^1$). *b d* $S^1$ read "God," but the context favours the former.

8. *With regard to that passion* (α). β-α *g* $S^1$ read "with regard to the passion by which he is vanquished"; A "with regard to the passion he is vanquished."

*His wicked desire* (α A). β $S^1$ read "the wicked desire."

VIII. 1. *And all the night* (α). β A $S^1$ read "together with all the night" (καὶ ὁλὴν τὴν νύκτα συνάψας). Here συνάψας appears = יַחַד. So the translator of A took it.

*Her* (α). β-*d* A $S^1$ read "the Egyptian woman."

2-4. Cf. Gen. xxxix. 12-14, 16.

3. ⌜*Therefore*⌝ (*c* β). *h* A om.

*Garment.* Here α reads χιτῶνα, while β gives ἱμάτια.

*Held fast to my garment . . . naked.* So α reads, save that after the words "I left it behind" α adds "and having shaken (it) off" (καὶ ἐκτιναξά-

garment, I left it behind, and fled away naked.

*α*

4. And holding fast to the garment she falsely accused me, and when her husband came he cast me into prison in his house; and on the morrow he scourged me and sent me into Pharaoh's prison.

*α*

5. And when I was in bonds, the Egyptian woman was oppressed with grief, and she came and heard how I gave thanks unto the Lord and sang praises in the abode of darkness, and with glad voice rejoiced, glorifying my God that I was delivered from the lustful desire of the Egyptian woman.

to my garment, I fled away naked.

*β-d* A $S^1$

4. And she falsely accused me to her husband, and the Egyptian cast me into prison in his house, and on the morrow he scourged me and sent me into Pharaoh's prison.

*β-d* A $S^1$

5. And when I was in fetters, the Egyptian was sick with grief, and she heard how I sang praises unto the Lord in the house of darkness, and with glad voice rejoicing, glorified God only that I was delivered from the lustful desire of the Egyptian woman.

*μενος*). This phrase is here meaningless. Possibly it arose from a dittography in the Hebrew. Thus *καὶ καταλείψας καὶ ἐκτιναξάμενος ἔφυγον γυμνός* = ועובתי ונערתי ונסתי ערום, where the word may be a dittography of the first. A supports *α*, but its testimony is divided; $A^{ab*cd}$ = *κατέλειψα τὰ ἱμάτιά μου καὶ γυμνὸς ἔφυγον ἀπ' αὐτῆς*; $A^{fg}$ *κρατησάσης τὰ ἱμάτιά μου γυμνὸς ἔφυγον*; $A^{bh}$ om.; *β-d* $S^1$ read as above, though *aefg* omit "by force"; *d*, as usual, is conflate, having elements peculiar to *α* and *β* and A. Thus it reads *βίᾳ κρατεῖ τὰ ἱμάτιά μου ἀποδυσάμενος ἔφυγον ἀπὸ αὐτῆς γυμνός*.

5. *And when* (*α* A). *β-d* reads "when, therefore."

*In bonds* (*α*). *β* reads "in fetters."

*Was sick* (*ἠσθένει*—*β-d* A $S^1$). *α* reads "was oppressed" (*συνείχετο*). The latter may = נבלאה, a corruption (?) of נלאתה = *ἠσθένει*.

*Was delivered from the lustful desire of the Egyptian woman.* The text reads *διὰ προφάσεως ἀπηλλάγην τῆς Αἰγυπτίας*. This could be translated "was delivered by a pretext from the Egyptian woman," but the sense is unsatisfactory. A renders "from the pretexts of the Egyptian woman." Hence it is probable that *διὰ προφάσεως . . . τῆς Αἰγ.* = בתאנת המצרית, corrupt for מתאות המצריח = *ἀπὸ ἐπιθυμίας τῆς Αἰγυπτίας*. The LXX and Vulgate imply the same corruption in Prov. xviii. 1. Hence our translation.

IX. And often hath she sent unto me saying: Consent ⌜to fulfil my desire⌝, and I will release thee from thy bonds, ⌜and I will free thee from the darkness. 2. And not even in thought did I incline unto her. For God loveth him who in a den of darkness combines fasting with chastity, rather than the man who in kings' chambers combines luxury with licence. 3. And if a man liveth in chastity, and desireth also glory, and the Most High knoweth that it is expedient for him, He bestoweth this also upon him, even as upon me. 4. How often,⌝ though she were sick, did she come down ⌜to me⌝ at unlooked-for times, and listened to my voice as I prayed! And when I heard her groanings I held my peace. 5. ⌜For⌝ when I was in her house she was wont to bare her arms, and breasts, and legs, ⌜that I might lie with her; for she was⌝ very beautiful, ⌜splendidly adorned⌝ in order to beguile me. And the Lord guarded me from her devices.

X. Ye see, therefore, my children, how great things patience worketh, and prayer with fasting. 2. So ye too, ⌜if ye follow after chastity and purity with patience and

IX. The omissions by A in this chapter are many.

2. *Who . . . combines fasting with chastity* (*τὸν . . . νηστεύοντα ἐν σωφροσύνῃ*). Contrast T. Ash. ii. 8. *σωφροσύνη*, which means generally *ἐπικράτεια τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν* (4 Macc. i. 31), here means "chastity." Cf. viii. 3, x. 2.

*Fasting* (*νηστεύοντα—β-a f* $S^1$). The man who fasts is here set over against the man who lives delicately. *a f* read corruptly *πιστεύοντα*, and *a* still more so *πιστόν*.

*Who . . . combines luxury with licence* (*τὸν . . . τρυφῶντα μετ' ἀκολασίας*).

*Kings' chambers* (*ταμείοις βασιλέων —β-b d* $S^1$). *c d* read *ταμείοις βασιλέα*. Hence the clause = "rather than in chambers a king living delicately," etc. For "kings' chambers" *b* reads simply "chambers."

3. *And if* (*εἰ δέ—a e f*). *c b* $S^1$ read *ὁ δέ*; *g ἡ δέ* (corrupt for *εἰ δέ*); *h* omits "and if . . . in chastity"; *d* entire verse.

*And the Most High* (*β-b d* $S^1$). *a* reads "the Most High"; *b* "and if the Most High."

5. *And breasts* (*β* A $S^1$). *a* omits.

*I might lie with her.* Text reads *συμπέσω εἰς αὐτήν*, a phrase which has already appeared in T. Jud. xi. 2 (*β* $S^1$), xiii. 3, 7. The corruption inherent in this phrase we took to have arisen in the Hebrew. See note on T. Jud. xiii. 3.

*Splendidly adorned*, etc. Cf. Yoma 35$^b$, where it is said that the wife of Potiphar changed her garments twice a day in order to win over Joseph.

X. 1. *Prayer with fasting.* Cf. iii. 4, iv. 8.

2. *So ye* (*c*). *β* $S^1$ read "and ye" (+ "therefore," *b d*).

prayer with fasting in humility of heart, the Lord will dwell among you, because He loveth chastity. 3. And wheresoever the Most High dwelleth, even though envy, or slavery, or slander befalleth (a man), the Lord who dwelleth in him, for the sake of his chastity not only] delivereth him from evil, [but also exalteth him even as me. 4. For in every way the man] is lifted up, whether in deed, or in word, or in thought. 5. My brethren know how my father loved me, and yet I did not exalt myself [in my mind]: although I was a child, [I had the fear of God in my heart]; for I knew that all things would pass away. 6. And I did not raise myself (against them) with evil intent, but I honoured my brethren; and out of respect for them, even when I was being sold, I refrained from telling the Ishmaelites that I was the son of Jacob, a great man and a mighty.

*Prayer with fasting* (*a*). $\beta$ $S^1$ om. Possibly the words are an intrusion from ver. 1.

3. *Wheresoever the Most High dwelleth.* This clause does not agree well with what follows.

*Even though envy . . . befall him* (*a*). $\beta$ $S^1$ read "even though a man fall into envy, or slavery, or slander, or darkness."

*Delivereth*, etc. Cf. i. 7.

*Exalteth.* Cf. i. 7.

4. I have in the translation followed the text of $\beta$-*b g* $S^1$, save that for *συνέρχεται* (*a e f*) I have with *d* read *συνεπαίρεται*. *a* is untranslatable, *πάντας γὰρ ἀνθρώπους . . . συνέρχεται*, where *συνέρχεται* = יבוא, which may be corrupt for יגבה = *ἐπαίρεται*. But the text is quite uncertain. *b g* $S^1$ read *συνέχεται*.

*I did not exalt myself.* Cf. xvii. 8.

5. [*I had the fear of God in my heart*]. Though A omits this clause, it is supported by the parallelism. Moreover, a parallel expression occurs in xi. 1.

*All things* (*a d* A). $\beta$-*d f* read *τὰ πάντα* "the world"; *f* "all these things."

6. *I did not raise myself* (*against them*) *with evil intent.* So *c* (*οὐ*)*κ ἐπήρθην ἐν κακῷ*. Here I take *ἐν κακῷ* = בְּרַע, and *ἐπήρθην* in a middle sense. This is not satisfactory, and the other readings are corrupt. Thus $\beta$ A $S^1$ read *ἐμέτρουν ἑμαυτόν*: *h* (conflate) *οὐκ ἐν μέτρῳ ἐαυτῷ*: *c* seems best, but *ἐν κακῷ* may be a corruption for *ἑμαυτόν*, which $\beta$ A $S^1$ read; *c* would then = לא רוממתי נפשי where the translator wrongly took the verb passively. Then $\beta$ A $S^1$ (*ἐμέτρουν ἑμαυτόν*) = מרוחי נפשי, a corruption of the former. Hence we read "I did not exalt myself." But this, it will be observed, is a repetition of a clause in ver. 5. Hence it may be a dittography. Next, if the negative is not original, we might explain רוממתי נפשי as a corruption of רוממתי נפשי "I kept myself quiet," the phrase in Ps. cxxxi. 2, which the LXX and Vulgate render as if it were רוממתי. Perhaps this suits the context best. "I kept quiet and honoured my brethren," etc.

*Even* (*a*). $\beta$ A $S^1$ om.

*Refrained from telling* (*a*). $\beta$ A $S^1$ add "my race" (*τὸ γένος μου*).

*Jacob* (*h* $\beta$ $A^b$ $S^1$). *c* $A^{ab*cdg}$ om.

*Mighty* (*δυνατοῦ*—$\beta$ A $S^1$). *a* reads "just" (*δικαίου*). Possibly both are renderings of גִּבּוֹר. This word is rendered as by *a* in the LXX of Prov. xvii. 7.

XI. Do ye also, therefore, my children, ⌜have the fear of God in all your works before your eyes, and⌝ honour your brethren. For every one who doeth the law of the Lord shall be loved by Him. 2. And when I came to the Indocolpitæ with the Ishmaelites, they asked me, saying: Art thou a slave? And I said that I was a home-born slave, that I might not put my brethren to shame. 3. And the eldest of them said unto me: Thou art not a slave, for even thy appearance doth make it manifest. But I said that I was ⌜their⌝ slave. 4. Now when we came into Egypt they strove concerning me, which of them should buy me and take me. 5. Therefore it seemed good to all that I should remain in Egypt with the merchant of their trade, until they should return bringing merchandise. 6. And the Lord gave me favour in the eyes of the merchant, and he entrusted unto me his house. 7. And God blessed him by my means, and increased him in gold and silver ⌜and in household servants⌝. 8. And I was with him three months and five days.

XII. And about that time the Memphian woman, the

XI. 1. *My children* ($\alpha\, d\, A^{ab*cd}$). $\beta$-$d$ $A^{bfg}$ om.

*Before your eyes.* $h\, b$ om.

2. *When I came to the Indocolpitae with the Ishmaelites* ($\beta$-$d\, S^1$). $\alpha$ reads "when I was coming with the Ishmaelites"; A "when I came with them to the Indocolpitae."

*Saying: Art thou a slave?* ($\alpha$). $\beta\, S^1$ om. A reads "and said: art thou a slave or a freeman?"

According to the Book of Jashar (*Dict. des Apocr.* ii. 1187) Joseph's brothers contended that Joseph was their slave when they sold him to the Midianites.

*A home-born slave* ($\alpha\, a\, f$). Here ἐξ οἴκου = ילִיד בית. Cf. Gen. xvii. 12. $b\, d\, e$ A $S^1$ read "their home-born slavé."

*I put my brethren to shame.* Cf. x. 6, xv. 3, xvi. 3, xvii. 1. Joseph was extolled by the Rabbis for his devotion to his brothers (Tan., Wayesheb 20; see *Jewish Encyc.* vii. 248).

3. *Doth make it manifest* ($\alpha$). $\beta$ A $S^1$ add "concerning thee. And he threatened me ⌜unto death⌝."

4. *Which of them*, etc. ($\alpha\, \beta\, S^1$). A reads "and each offered part of his merchandise that he might take me (+ "by purchase" (?) $A^{ab}$).

5. *The merchant* ($\alpha\, d\, A^{ahb*cdg}$). $\beta$-$d\, S^1$ read "a merchant."

6. *Gave me favour in the eyes.* The phrase is from Gen. xxxix. 21. Cf. ii. 3.

7. *God* ($\alpha\, a\, f$). $\beta$-$a\, f$ A $S^1$ read "the Lord."

*Gold and silver* ($\alpha\, d$). $\beta$-$d\, S^1$ read "silver and gold."

*And in household servants.* $\alpha$ reads καὶ ἔργῳ. ἔργον = עֲבוֹדָה, a corruption of עֲבָדָה: hence my rendering. $\beta$ A $S^1$ omitted the phrase probably as unintelligible.

*Five days* ($\beta$-$d$ A $S^1$). $\alpha$ omits.

XII. 1. *And* ($\alpha\, a\, d\, f\, g$). $b\, e\, S^1$ omit.

wife of Pentephri, came down ⌜in a chariot⌝, ⌜with great pomp, because she had heard from her eunuchs concerning me⌝. 2. And she told her husband that the merchant had become rich by means of a young Hebrew, and they say that he had assuredly been stolen out of the land of Canaan. 3. Now, therefore, render justice unto him, and take away the youth to thy house; so shall the God of the Hebrews bless thee, for grace from heaven is upon him.

XIII. And Pentephris was persuaded by her words, and commanded the merchant to be brought, and said unto him: What is this that I hear ⌜concerning thee⌝, that thou stealest persons out of the land of Canaan, and sellest them for slaves? 2. But the merchant fell at his feet, and besought him, saying: I beseech thee, my lord, I know not what thou sayest. 3. And Pentephris said unto him: Whence, then, is the Hebrew slave? And he said: The Ishmaelites entrusted him to me until they should return. 4. But he believed him not, but commanded him to be stripped and beaten. And when he persisted in this statement, Pentephris said: Let the youth be brought. 5. And when I was brought in, I did obeisance to Pentephris

*Came down* (κατῆει—*a*). *β* A $S^1$ read "passed" (παρῆει).

*Pentephri*, or "Pentephrē." *b e* read Petephri.

*In a chariot* (*a a d e f*). *b g* A $S^1$ omit.

*With great pomp . . . concerning me* (*a*). *β* $S^1$ read "with great pomp and she cast her eyes upon me because her eunuchs had told her concerning me," A "she looked and saw me."

2. *That the merchant had become rich* (*a*). *β* A $S^1$ read "concerning the merchant that he had become rich."

*To thy house* (*a e f* $S^1$). *a* reads "to our house," *b d g* "to be thy steward," A "for the office of steward to thee."

XIII. 1. *Pentephris.* *b e* read "Petephri."

*To be brought* (*b d g* $S^1$). *a a e f* read "to come" (corruption arose in the Hebrew), $A^b$ "to bring."

*Concerning thee* (*a a e f g*). *b d* A $S^1$ omit.

*And sellest them for slaves.* A reads "to be unto thee as male and female slaves."

2. *But the merchant fell at his feet* (*a g*). *β-d g* A $S^1$ read "the merchant therefore (A "and the merchant") fell on his face."

*I know not what thou sayest.* Cf. Matt. xxvi. 70.

3. *And Pentephris said unto him* (*a*). *a e f* read "but he," *b d g* A $S^1$ "but he said."

*Is the Hebrew slave* (*a*). *β-f* A $S^1$ read "hast thou the Hebrew slave?"

4. *Let the youth be brought* (*a b d g*). *a e f* $S^1$ read "let the youth answer."

5. *Pentephris* (*a*). *β* $S^1$ read "the chief of the eunuchs," A "him."

(for he was third in rank of the officers of Pharaoh). 6. And he took me apart from him, and said unto me: Art thou a slave or free? And I said: A slave. 7. And he said: Whose? And I said: The Ishmaelites'. 8. And he said: How didst thou become their slave? And I said: They bought me out of the land of Canaan. 9. And he said unto me: ⌜Truly⌝ thou liest; and ⌜straightway⌝ he commanded me to be stripped and beaten.

XIV. Now the Memphian woman was looking through a window ⌜at me while I was being beaten, for her house was near, and she sent unto him, saying⌝: Thy judgment is unjust; for thou dost punish a ⌜free⌝ man who hath been stolen, as though he were a transgressor. 2. And when I made no change in my statement, ⌜though I was beaten,⌝ he ordered me to be imprisoned, until, he said, the owners of the boy should come. 3. And the woman said unto her husband: Wherefore dost thou detain the captive and well-born lad in bonds, who ought rather to be set at

*Third in rank of the officers of Pharaoh* (*τρίτος . . . ἐν ἀξιώματι παρὰ τῶν Φαραὼ ἀρχόντων*—α). Here *παρά* =מן used in a partitive sense. A= "his rank was second to Pharaoh." β reads, "third in rank with Pharaoh, (as) officer of all the eunuchs (*παρὰ τῷ Φαραώ, ἄρχων πάντων τῶν εὐνούχων*) having wives and concubines and children." The text of β seems clearly secondary. The phraseology recals the words in Dan. v. 7 "shall rule as one of three in the kingdom."

6. *And I said.* α omits what follows to "and I said" in ver. 8.

7. *And he said . . . and I said* (β-*b* $S^1$). *b* A read "and he said unto me: Whose slave art thou? and I said ⌜unto him⌝."

8. *He said* (β-*b g*). *b* A $S^1$ (+ "again" *b*) he said unto me" ($A^g$ om. "unto me").

*Land of Canaan* (*c* β-*b* A $S^1$). *b* reads "Canaan."

9. *Truly* (α). β A $S^1$ omit.

*Straightway* (α *g*). β-*g* A $S^1$ omit.

XIV. 1. *At me while I was being beaten* (α *a d g*). *b e f* read "while I was being beaten."

*For her house was near* (α). β A $S^1$ omit.

*Unto him* (α). β $S^1$ read "unto her husband."

*Thy judgment* (α *b* $A^{b\,h}$ $S^1$). β-*b* $A^{a\,b*\,c\,d\,f\,g}$ read "the judgment." These words with the rest of this verse are transposed by A after the first clause of ver. 3.

*Thou dost punish . . . as though he were a transgressor* (β A $S^1$ save that A reads "dost detain" for "dost punish"). α reads corruptly *τιμωρῆσαι ἀδίκως*.

2. *Me* (α *a b* A). *d e f g* read "us."

*Until. b e f g* $A^{b*}$ add "said he."

*Owners of the boy* (α β-*d g* $S^1$). *d g* A read "my (*g* $A^{a\,b*\,c\,d}$ "his") owners."

3. *The woman* (α *e f g* $S^1$). *a b d* A read "his wife."

*Her husband* (α). β A $S^1$ read "him."

⌜*In bonds*⌝ (α). β A $S^1$ omit.

liberty, and be waited upon? 4. For she wished to see me out of a desire ⌜of sin⌝, but I was ignorant concerning all these things. 5. And he said to her: It is not the custom of the Egyptians to take away that which belongeth to others before proof is given. 6. This, therefore, he said concerning the merchant; but as for the lad, he must be imprisoned.

XV. Now after four and twenty days came the Ishmaelites; for they had heard that Jacob ⌜my father⌝ was mourning ⌜much⌝ concerning me. And they came and said unto me: 2. How is it that thou saidst that thou wast a slave? and lo, we have learnt that thou art the son of a mighty man in the land of Canaan, and thy father ⌜still⌝ mourneth for thee in sackcloth ⌜and ashes⌝. 3. ⌜When I heard this my bowels were dissolved and my heart melted⌝, and I desired greatly to weep, but I restrained myself, that I should not put my brethren to shame. ⌜And I said unto them, I know not, I am a slave⌝. 4. Then, ⌜therefore⌝, they took counsel to sell me, that I should not be found in their hands. 5. For they feared my father, lest he ⌜should come and⌝ execute upon them a grievous vengeance. For they had heard that he was mighty with God and with men. 6. Then said the merchant unto them: Release me from the judgment of Pentephri. 7. And they came and

*Waited upon* (α). β A $S^1$ read "wait upon thee." Possibly xii. 3 is in favour of the latter reading.

4. Cf. iii. 8.

5. *Her* (*c*).—β-*a d* $A^{-b}$ read "the Memphian woman."

6. ⌜*Therefore*⌝ (α). β A $S^1$ omit.

XV. 1. *For they had heard* (α). β A $S^1$ read "and having heard." *d* A add "when they were in the land of Canaan."

*Much* (α). β A $S^1$ omit.

*And they came and said* (α $A^b$). β $A^{-b}$ $S^1$ read "and (β-*d* $S^1$ om.) they said."

2. *For thee.* *b d g* $A^b$ omit.

⌜*And ashes*⌝ (α). β A $S^1$ omit. The words are probably an intrusion.

3. ⌜*When I heard this my bowels were dissolved and my heart melted*⌝ (α). β A $S^1$ omit.

*Put my brethren to shame.* Cf. xi. 2.

*Unto them* (*h d*). *c* reads "unto him," *a b e f* $S^1$ omit.

4. ⌜*Therefore*⌝ (α). β A $S^1$ omit.

5. *My father* (α). β A $S^1$ read "Jacob."

⌜*Should come and*⌝ (α). β A $S^1$ omit.

*Grievous vengeance.* The text reads ἐκδίκησιν κινδύνου. Is κινδύνου here a rendering of אסון as Symmachus renders it in Gen xlii. 4?

*God* (α *g*). β-*g* A $S^1$ read "the Lord."

6. *Pentephri* (α *d*). α *f* read "Pentiphre," *b e g* "Petephri."

7. *And they* (α). β-*g* $S^1$ read "they therefore," A "before him."

requested me, saying: ⌜Say⌝ that thou wast bought by us with money, and he will set us free.

XVI. Now the Memphian woman said to her husband: Buy the youth; for I hear, said she, that they are selling him.

*c*

2. And straightway she sent a eunuch to the Ishmaelites, and asked them to sell me. 3. But since the eunuch would not agree to buy me (at their price) he returned, having made trial of them, and he made known to his mistress that they asked a large price for their slave.

$\beta$ A $S^1$

2. And she sent a eunuch to the Ishmaelites and asked them to sell me. The chief captain, therefore, called the Ishmaelites and asked them to sell me. 3. ⌜And since he did not agree (to their price) he departed⌝. But the eunuch, ⌜when he had made trial of them,⌝ made known to his mistress that they asked a large price ⌜for their slave⌝.

4. ⌜And she sent another eunuch,⌝ saying: Even though they demand two minæ, ⌜give them,⌝ do not spare ⌜the gold; only buy the boy, and bring him to me.

⌜*Say*⌝ (*a a e f* $S^1$). *b d g* A omit.

*Thou wast bought by us with money* (*a* $\beta$-*b d* $S^1$). A "we bought ($A^{a\,h}$ "thou boughtest," $A^b$ "ye bought") him with money."

*And he will set us free* (κἀκεῖνος (+λοιπῶν, *c*) λῦσαι (*h* ἀπολῦσαι) ἡμᾶς ἔχει—*a*). *a e f* $S^1$ read "and he will set us free (ἀπολύσει)," *b d g* "and he set us free," A "and the merchant set (+"us" $A^{a\,b\,h}$) free." The original meaning of the text is quite uncertain.

XVI. 1. *Said to her husband: Buy the youth* (*a*). $\beta$-*d* $S^1$ read "instructed (ἔδηλωσε) her husband to buy me." Here δηλῶσαι appears to be the equivalent of φράσαι. A = "sent to her husband that he should buy me." *h* omits "*buy* the youth to the end of the Testament and all of the Test. Benjamin.

2. *The chief captain . . . asked them to sell me* (*a e f* A $S^1$ save A reads "merchants" for "Ishmaelites"). *c b d g* omit through hmt.

*But the eunuch, when he had made trial of them, made known* (*b e g* $S^1$ save that *e* omits "but" and *g* reads "and" for it). *a f* omit the "but" (δέ) and connect these words with what precedes, "and as the eunuch did not agree (to their price) he departed when he had made trial of them and he made known." *d* gives a peculiar text, but supports *b* in reading ὁ δὲ εὐνοῦχος. The text is very uncertain.

4. *Minas* (*c*). $\beta$ A $S^1$ add "of gold."

⌜*Give it*⌝ (παρέχετε *c a*, δὸς αὐτοῖς *d*). *b e f g* read πρόσεχε "take care."

*Do not spare* (*c* $a^2$ *g* $A^{a\,b\,h}$). $a^1$ *b e f* $S^1$ read "not to spare."

*To me.* 5. *The eunuch therefore went* (*c*). $\beta$ A $S^1$ omit.

*c*

5. The eunuch therefore went and gave them eighty pieces of gold, and† he received me†; but to the Egyptian woman he said: I have given a hundred.

*β-d* A $S^1$

5. And he gave them eighty pieces of gold for me, and told the Egyptian woman that a hundred pieces had been given.

6. And though I knew (this) I held my peace, lest the eunuch should be put to shame.

XVII. Ye see, therefore, my children, what great things I endured that I should not put my brethren to shame. 2. Do ye also, ⌜therefore,⌝ love one another, ⌜and with long-suffering hide ye one another's faults⌝. 3. For God delighteth ⌜in the unity of brethren, and⌝ in the purpose of a heart that takes pleasure in love. 4. And when my brethren came into Egypt they learnt that I had returned their money unto them, and upbraided them not, and comforted them. 5. And after the death of Jacob my father I loved them ⌜more abundantly⌝, and all things whatsoever he commanded I did ⌜very abundantly⌝ for them. 6. And I

5. *Eighty* (*c* β). A reads "sixty."

*And he received me, but to the Egyptian woman he said, I have given* (*c*). β-*d* $S^1$ read "for me, and told the Egyptian woman that a hundred had been given" (+"for me" *b e*). Here *ἀνελάβετό με* ("received me" *c*) is= לקחני, corrupt for חלפי (or חלפי) or else תחתי=*ἀντὶ ἐμοῦ* (β $S^1$). A gives a peculiar text here, but supports β $S^1$.

6. *The eunuch should be put to shame* (*c*). *a e f* A $S^1$ read "the eunuch should be tortured," *d g* "I should put the eunuchs to shame."

XVII. 1. *Therefore* (*c* A). β $S^1$ omit.

*Put my brethren to shame.* Cf. xi. 2.

3. *Purpose of a heart* (β A $S^1$). *c* reads "purpose of a good heart." Perhaps we should read *προαιρέσει καρδίας ἀγαθῇ*, "the good inclination (tendency, impulse) of the heart."

*Love* (*ἀγάπην*). So β-*a*. *c* $a A^{hb*cdg}$ read *ἀγαθόν*, "the good," but this does not suit the context, and may probably be regarded as a corruption of *ἀγάπην*. The parallelism with the preceding clause would be established, if we took אהבה ("love") to be a corruption of אחוה, "brotherliness."

4. *They learnt* (*c*). β A $S^1$ read "when they learnt," but their text is ungrammatical except in *b*, which adds an apodosis at end of ver. 5.

*And comforted* (*c*). β A $S^1$ read "yea and even."

5. *Jacob.* $A^{ab*cd}$ omit.

*My father* (*c d* $A^{b*cdg}$). β-*d g* $A^{bfg}$ omit.

*He commanded.* So β-*a d* $S^1$ *ἐκέλευσεν*. A reads "they commanded (*ἐκέλευσαν*). *c* reads *ἤθελον*, *a ἐθέλησαν*. The variations may have arisen within the Greek, or there was a confusion of אנו and צוו, or צוא.

6. *And I* (*c d* A). β-*d* $S^1$ read "for I."

suffered them not to be afflicted even in the smallest matter; and all that was in my hand I gave unto them. 7. ⌜And⌝ their children were my children, and my children as their servants; and their life was my life, and all their suffering was my suffering, ⌜and all their sickness was my infirmity⌝. My land was their land, and their counsel my counsel. 8. And I exalted not myself among them ⌜in arrogance⌝ because of my ⌜worldly⌝ glory, ⌜but I was among them as one of the least⌝.

XVIII. If ye also, therefore, walk in the commandments of the Lord, my children, He will exalt you there, and will bless you with good things for ever and ever. 2. ⌜And if any one seeketh to do evil unto you, do well unto him, and pray for him, and ye shall be redeemed of the Lord from all evil.⌝ 3. ⌜For,⌝ behold, ye see that ⌜out of my humility and long-suffering⌝ I took unto wife the daughter of the priest of Heliopolis. And a hundred talents of gold were given me with her, and the Lord made them to serve

7. ⌜*And*⌝ (*c*). β A $S^1$ omit.

*Their life was my life* (β $S^1$). *c* A read "my life was their life."

*And my land was their land* (*b d g* A, but A transposes this clause before "and all their suffering"). *c a e f* omit.

*And their counsel my counsel* (*c d g*). *b e f* $S^1$ read "my counsel their counsel." $A^{-h}$ = "one was the counsel of us all."

8. *I was among them as one of the least.* Cf. Luke xxii. 27 "I am among you as one that serveth."

XVIII. 1. A reads "Walk ye also, therefore, in the same path, my children (+ "with me," $A^b$) and God ($A^{b*cdfg}$ "Israel Shaddai") will glorify you and exalt you for ever" ($A^{ab}$ "on high").

*My children* (β-*a* A $S^1$). *c a* omit.

*He will exalt you there, and bless you* (*b d e g* $S^1$). *c a f* read "God (*a f* om.) will exalt you." But A supports *b d e g* $S^1$.

2. This verse is in perfect keeping with the rest of our author's ethical teaching. Cf. T. Gad vi.–vii.

3. *My humility and* (*c*). β $S^1$ omit. *a* omits vers. 3, 4.

*The daughter* (*c*). β-*a* $S^1$ read "even the daughter."

*Priest of Heliopolis* (*c*). Cf. Jub. xl. 10. β-*a* A $S^1$ read "of my masters" (*d g* "master"). Later Judaism was offended with the marriage of Joseph to the daughter of a heathen priest, and represents Asenath as a daughter of Dinah of Shechem. See my note on Jub. xl. 10. Our author, as the author of the Bk. of Jubilees, identifies Pentephri or Potiphar with the father of Asenath.

*Hundred talents of gold.* On the presents made to Joseph, see Bk. of Jashar (*Dict. des Apoc.* ii. 1211).

*And the Lord* (*c*). β-*a e* A $S^1$ read "for the Lord."

*Made them to serve me* (μοι αὐτοὺς κατεδούλωσεν). So all MSS but *c g* which read μου for μοι.

me. 4. And He gave me also beauty as a flower beyond the beautiful ones of Israel; and He preserved me ⌜unto old age in strength and⌝ in beauty, because I was like in all things to Jacob.

*cβ* S¹

XIX. And hear ye, my children, also the vision which I saw. 2. There were twelve harts feeding: and the nine were (first) dispersed over all the earth, and likewise also the three.

A

XIX. Hear ye, therefore, the vision which I saw. 2. I saw twelve harts feeding. And nine of them were dispersed. Now the three were preserved, but on the following day they also were dis-

4. A reads: "And (+Asenath my wife $A^b$) was beautiful as a flower, and (+I was $A^b$) beautiful beyond (+all $A^b$) the chosen ones of Israel (+and temperate and humble $A^b$), beyond Levi and Judah and Naphtali. He preserved me in beauty ($A^b$ I was more beautiful than they) because I was like Jacob in all things."

*As a flower* (*β-a* A S¹). *c* omits.

*I was like in all things to Jacob.* This was the Rabbinic view. "Both," the Rabbis showed, "were born after their mothers had been long barren, both were hated by their brothers, both were met by angels (Gen. R. lxxxiv. 6; Num. R. xiv. 16)." See *Jewish Encyc.* vii. 248.

XIX. In this chapter we are obliged to trust oúrselves wholly to the Armenian version, since the Greek MSS are at once defective and corrupt. Verses 3-7 are found only in A, while the Christian interpolations in the Greek version in vers. 8 and 11 are either wholly or in part absent from A. Yet A itself is corrupt. Some of the corruptions indeed—as in ver. 8—can be removed and the text restored with considerable certainty, but such a consummation is hardly possible in the case of ver. 6.

1. *Also the vision which I saw* (*β-b*). *c* reads "also concerning the visions which I know," *b* "also the visions which I saw." Perhaps the plural is right.

2-4. This vision represents in brief outline the Twelve Tribes in quiet occupation of Palestine: the leading into captivity of the nine tribes by Assyria, then of the three by Babylon: the return of the three tribes to Palestine, and at their intercession the restoration of the nine. In the last statement the writer seems to pass from the sphere of history to that of prediction; but it may be possible that he regarded all the Twelve Tribes as having actually returned from exile.

2. *Harts.* The Greek is ἔλαφοι, and as *αβ* are defective, this word is found only in ver. 2. Its equivalent in the Armenian recurs also in vers. 3, 4, 9. But as *αβ* omit in ver. 9 it is probably an interpolation there. It is printed also in the Armenian text in ver. 8; but as $A^{befg}$ read *eltsheruats* (=κεράτων) I take it that either the editor has erred in printing *eltsherats* (=ἐλάφων) or that $A^{ab*cd}$ are corrupt. ἔλαφος is used generally as a rendering of אַיָּל in the LXX. But had not these ἔλαφοι become ἀμνοί or πρόβατα in vers. 3, 4, we might suppose that the Greek translator had taken אַיִל (=κριός) as אַיָּל. In Lam. i. 6 the princes of Judah are said to have "become as harts that find no pasture." In our text they are symbols of the Twelve Tribes. It will be observed that in vers. 5-9 we have different symbols.

*Feeding.* *c* adds "in a place."

*All the earth.* *b* S¹ read "the earth."

*And likewise* (*cf*). *β-d f* read "likewise."

*Were preserved* ($A^{ab*cdfg}$). $A^b$ read "fed with each other."

persed. 3. And I saw that the three harts became three lambs, and they cried to the Lord, and He brought them forth into a flourishing and well-watered place, yea He brought them out of darkness into light. 4. And there they cried unto the Lord until there gathered together to them the nine harts, and they became as twelve sheep, and after a little time they increased and became many flocks. 5. And after these things I

3-4. These two verses are necessary to complete the vision.

3. *Three harts, i.e.* three tribes. In its description of the return from the captivity, 1 En. lxxxix. 72 symbolises the three tribes as "three sheep." I am not aware of any other passage which speaks of the *three* tribes as having returned.

*The three harts became three lambs.* This is a peculiar transformation. The idea recurs in the next verse. In 1 En. lxxix.–xc. the righteous Israelites are symbolised by white sheep, and in xc. 38 the white sheep are transformed into white oxen. Perhaps the idea of symbolising Israel in the past by harts, which are wild animals, is to imply that the nation had fallen very far short of the standard of righteousness they should have attained.

*He brought* ($A^{bh}$). $A^{-bh}$ read "the Lord brought."

*Out of darkness into light.* Cf. Ps. cvii. 14; Is. ix. 2, xlii. 16, lviii. 10.

4. As our author addresses the Twelve Tribes in his twelve Testaments it is to be presumed that he regarded them as all actually present in Palestine.

*The nine harts.* The nine "tribes" are mentioned in the Ethiopic version of 4 Ezra xiii. 40. The usual phrase is "the nine and a half tribes." Cf. Apoc. Bar. lxii. 5, lxxvii. 19, lxxviii. 1; 4 Ezra xiii. 40 (Syr. and Arab. versions); Asc. Is. iii. 2, or "the ten tribes," 4 Ezra xiii. 40 (Lat. vers.); Apoc. Bar. i. 2.

5-9. Until fresh MS evidence is discovered, we must make the best of our unsatisfactory Armenian version. This Apocalypse is much more detailed than the former. It hints at the descent of the Messiah from Judah, or at the rise of one of the great Maccabean leaders.

First let us consider the former possibility—the descent of the Messiah from Judah. If this was the original import of this vision, ver. 5 must relate either to pre-exilic times, or to the second century B.C., as the Twelve Tribes are conceived as dwelling in Palestine (that the Twelve Tribes were in Palestine under the Maccabees appears to have been a supposition of our author; see T. Reub. vi. 8 note), and ver. 8 refers to the immediate future. But on either supposition ver. 8 cannot be interpreted of a descendant of David, if the words in the Armenian "in the midst of the horns" are genuine; for there were no "horns"

saw and behold, twelve bulls were sucking one cow, which produced a sea of milk, and there drank thereof the twelve flocks and innumerable herds. 6. And the horns of the †fourth bull went up unto heaven and became as a wall for the flocks, and in the midst of the [two] horns there grew another horn. 7. And I saw a bull calf which sur-

or notable leaders among David's descendants in the second century B.C. The plain implication of ver. 8 is that the deliverer of Israel is to arise from amongst the leaders of the time, if the clause "in the midst of the horns" is genuine. Now the leaders of the nation in the second century were sprung not from Judah, but from Levi. Moreover, according to $c\,\beta\,S^1$, the deliverer of Israel in ver. 8 was to be assisted by Judah, "and on his left hand there was, as it were, a lion." Thus we infer that the text originally implied the deliverance of Israel by Levi or a descendant of Levi, who was to be assisted by Judah. This inference is confirmed by ver. 11: "do ye, therefore, my children, honour Levi and Judah; for from them shall arise the salvation of Israel." Hence we conclude that our text refers to the rise of one of the great Maccabeans.

5. *Bulls.* The Armenian word *zŭarag* may be a rendering of *βοῦς*, *μόσχος*, or *ταῦρος*, any one of which could be a rendering in turn of בר. This word recurs in verses 6, 7, 9. In the former vision the tribes were symbolised by "harts."

*Of . . . milk.* Before "milk" the text inserts an adjective meaning "strong," "violent," "terrible."

*Herds.* The Armenian word can also be used of a flock of sheep.

6. If "fourth" is not a corruption, this verse relates to the pre-exilic hegemony of Judah or of David's dynasty. But probably "fourth" (*tshorrort*) is a corruption for "third" (*errort*). Levi was the third of the twelve sons of Jacob. The verse would then refer to the domination of the nation by the hierarchy of Levi, and the emergence of the Maccabean family.

*And in the midst of the (two) horns . . . another horn.* Is this "horn" Mattathias?

*Two* ($A^{abb*cd}$). $A^{efg}$ om.

7-9. When the interpolations in ver. 8 are removed, and the corruptions emended, it becomes probable that these verses refer to one and the same victorious leader, who, symbolised at first by a "bull calf," is subsequently denoted by a "lamb," having thus undergone a transformation analogous to those in verses 3, 4. This leader is, in all probability, one of the Maccabees. But possibly ver. 7 refers to Judas, and verses 8, 9 to John Hyrcanus, but the former view is more probable.

7. *A bull calf.* The Armenian word $=\mu\acute{o}\sigma\chi os=$ עגל. If this leader is not the same as the hero spoken of in ver. 9, he may be Judas the Maccabee. See notes on 7-9, and 8.

*A bull calf which surrounded them twelve times* ($A^{abh(cefg)}$). $A^{b*d}=$ "twelve oxen which surrounded them." The text seems corrupt.

rounded them twelve times, and it became a help to the bulls wholly.

8. And I saw that [from Judah was born] a †virgin [wearing a linen garment, and from her] was born a lamb, [without spot]; and on his left hand there was as it were a lion; and all the beasts rushed against him, and the lamb overcame them, and destroyed them and trod them under foot.

8. And I saw in the midst of the horns a †virgin [wearing a many-coloured garment, and from her] went forth a lamb; and on his right (was as it were a lion; and) all the beasts and all the reptiles rushed (against him), and the lamb overcame them and destroyed them.

9. And the bulls rejoiced

*Became a help to the bulls.* The Maccabees are referred to as the "little help" in Dan. xi. 34.

8. This verse in $c\beta S^1$ is corrupt and interpolated. First, "was born of Judah" is obviously an intrusion, since no proper name is used in such symbolical visions. If the writer had designed Judah, he would have used such a phrase as the fourth bull, etc. (cf. ver. 6). This clause was added after the Armenian version was made. But before that event the text had suffered grossly, as we shall presently discover. If we turn to ver. 9 we shall find that the Greek gives an interpretation of the symbols, "angels and men," "land," and not the original terms of the vision which are preserved in the Armenian "bulls" and "cow." Thus in a symbolical vision, where men are represented by animals, as the bull, calf, lamb, such a term as "virgin" cannot occur. Hence it is either a corruption of some other word, or an addition to the text. First of all it is probable that the same victorious leader is referred to in verses 7 and 9. In ver. 7 as a bull calf he helps the bulls, and in ver. 9 the bulls rejoice because of his triumphant overthrow of their enemies. Now in the latter half of ver. 8 this leader is referred to as a lamb (*ἀμνός*). Thus the symbolic designation has been changed; from being a bull calf (*μόσχος*), he has been transformed into a lamb. As similar transformations have already been mentioned in verses 3, 4, this transformation can cause no difficulty. But such a transformation must have been mentioned. Hence the record of this transformation must have been given in the earlier half of ver. 8; in other words, we find there an account of the transformation of a bull calf into a lamb, and *not* the birth of a lamb from a virgin. Hence we should read: "And I saw that in the midst of the horns a bull calf became a lamb." Finally the addition, "wearing a linen garment," must be of course rejected as an interpolation, which was added when once the impossible term "virgin" appeared in the text.

*A lamb.* This "lamb" appears to have been one of the Maccabees. On his right fights Judah, who is here designed by a "lion."

*All the beasts rushed against him.* The beasts are the various gentile nations, especially Syria with its Greek mercenaries. Cf. 1 En. xc. 12, 16: "all the eagles and vultures and ravens and kites (*i.e.* the Syrians, etc.) . . . came together and helped each other to break that horn of the ram" (*i.e.* Judas the Maccabee).

9. *The bulls and the cow, i.e.* the twelve tribes and their country Pales-

9. And because of him the angels and men rejoiced, and all the land. 10. And these things shall come to pass in their season, in the last days. 11. Do ye therefore, my children, observe the commandments of the Lord, and honour Levi and Judah; for from them shall arise ⌜unto you⌝ [the Lamb of God, who taketh away the sin of the world] one who saveth [all the Gentiles and] Israel.

12. For his kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, which shall not pass away; but my kingdom among you shall come to an end as a watcher's hammock, which after the summer disappeareth.

because of him, and the cow [and the harts] exulted together with them. 10. And these things must come to pass in their season. 11. And do ye, my children, honour Levi and Judah, for from them shall arise the salvation of Israel.

12. For my kingdom which is among you shall come to an end as a watcher's hammock, which will not appear after the summer.

tine. See ver. 5. The Greek text here is not original. It has translated the symbols of the vision into ordinary language, and done this in part rightly and in part wrongly. "The whole land" is the right interpretation of the term "cow," but the "bulls" should have been interpreted as the "tribes of Israel."

*The cow* [*and the harts*] ($A^{b*cdg}$). $A^{ab}$ read "the descendants of the three harts," $A^{h}$ "two of the three harts." I have bracketed the words "and the harts . . . with them" as an interpolation; for the "bulls" already designate the Twelve Tribes, which in the first vision are designated by the "harts."

11. *Levi and Judah* (*c* A). This is the right order. See notes on T. Reub. vi. 5-12; T. Dan. v. 10. $\beta S^{1}$ read "Judah and Levi."

*From them* ($\beta$ A $S^{1}$). *c* reads "from their seed."

*Unto you* ($\beta S^{1}$). *c* reads "unto us." A om.

*The Lamb of God*, etc. The bracketed clauses are obvious interpolations.

*Who taketh away . . . the world* (*c*). $\beta$S read "by grace."

12. *His kingdom . . . shall not pass away*. Apparently from Dan. vii. 14.

*Shall not pass away* (*c* $\beta$-*a b*). *a b* $S^{1}$ read "shall not be shaken" (through an internal corruption).

*As a watcher's hammock*, etc. Cf. Is. i. 8, xxiv. 20.

*Disappeareth* (*c*). $\beta S^{1}$ read "will not appear."

XX. ⌜For⌝ I know that after my death the Egyptians will afflict you, but God will avenge you, and will bring you into that which He promised to your fathers. 2. But ye shall carry up my bones with you; ⌜for when my bones are being taken up thither, the Lord shall be with you in light, and Beliar shall be in darkness with the Egyptians⌝.

| *c* $A^{b*cdg}$ | $\beta S^1$ |
|---|---|
| 3. And carry ye up Asenath your mother [to the Hippodrome], and near Rachel your mother bury her. | 3. And carry ye up Zilpah your mother, and nigh to Bilhah by the Hippodrome lay her near Rachel. |

4. And when he had said these things he stretched out his feet, and died at a good old age. 5. And all Israel mourned for him, and all Egypt, with a great mourning.

| *c* | $\beta S^1$ |
|---|---|
| 6. And when the children of Israel went out of Egypt, | 6. For he felt even for the Egyptians as though a |

XX. 1. ⌜*For*⌝ (*c*). $\beta$ A $S^1$ om. *d g* add "my children."

*My death* (*c* $\beta$ $S^1$). $A^{abh}$ read "me."

*Your fathers* (*c b* A $S^1$). *e f g* read "our fathers."

2. *Ye shall carry up my bones*, etc. Cf. Gen. l. 25; Exod. xiii. 19.

*Thither* (*c* $\beta$-*b d*). *b d* om.

3. In $A^{abh}$ the text = "And your brother ($A^a$ "brothers") carry ye up ($A^{ah}$ "lay to rest") and near my sister and mother lay him ($A^a$ "them")."

*Asenath, your mother* (*c d*). *b e f* $A^{b*cdg}$ $S^1$ read "Zilpah, your mother," $A^{abh}$ "your brother" ($A^a$ "brothers"). The reading "Zilpah" can hardly be justified. All four of Jacob's wives appear to have died before his descent into Egypt. See Gen. xlvi. 8-27; Jub. xliv. 12-33; Jos. *Ant.* ii. 7. 4.

[*To the Hippodrome.*] A rightly om. this phrase. I have bracketed as an interpolation from the LXX of Gen. xlviii. 7, where *ἱππόδρομον χαβραθά* appears as a double rendering of כברת. This Greek word is again used in the same verse as a rendering of Ephrath (?). If we could suppose it to be so here, the text could stand.

*Near Rachel, your mother.* Rachel was buried near Ephrath. Cf. Gen. xxxv. 16 sqq. xlviii. 7.

*Bury* (*c*). A reads "lay."

*Nigh to Bilhah . . . near Rachel* ($\beta S^1$). According to Jub. xxxiv. 16, Bilhah was buried over against the tomb of Rachel. I am not aware that this statement is found elsewhere. Hence the text of $\beta S^1$ is ancient.

4. *When he had said these things* (*c* $\beta$ $S^1$). $A^b$ reads "after these things," $A^{ab*cdg}$ om.

*Died at a good old age.* Here *c* $\beta S^1$ read *ἐκοιμήθη ὕπνῳ καλῷ* ($\beta S^1$ *ὕπνον αἰώνιον*), where *ὕπνῳ καλῷ* = בשינה טובה, corrupt for בשיבה טובה (Gen. xv. 15). Hence my rendering "at a good old age." *ὕπνον αἰώνιον* = שינת עולם, which may be a corruption of the same phrase. It is found in Jer. li. 39. A reads "died."

6. The text of *c* seems original, as its concluding words "110 years" are found in $A^{b*cd}$, which omit the rest of the verse.

they took with them the bones of Joseph, and they buried him in Hebron with his fathers, and the years of his life were one hundred and ten years.

member (of their nation), and showed them kindness, aiding them in every work, and counsel, and matter.

*As though a member of their nation* (*a e f*). *b g* read "as for his own members."

*f* $S^1$ add "Joseph the eleventh son of Jacob and first son of Rachel lived 110 years."

# THE TESTAMENT OF BENJAMIN, THE TWELFTH SON OF JACOB AND RACHEL

I. The copy of the words of Benjamin, which he commanded his sons to observe, after he had lived a hundred and twenty-five years. 2. And he kissed them, and said: As Isaac was born to Abraham in his old age, so also was I to Jacob. 3. And since Rachel my mother died in giving me birth, I had no milk; therefore I was suckled by Bilhah her handmaid. 4. For Rachel remained barren for twelve years ⌜after she had borne Joseph⌝; and she prayed the Lord ⌜with fasting twelve days, and she conceived and bare me⌝. 5. For ⌜my father⌝ loved Rachel dearly, ⌜and prayed that he might see two sons born from her⌝. 6. Therefore was I called Benjamin, that is, a son of days.

Title. *c* in text. *β-a d g* $S^1$ read "Testament of Benjamin (+the twelfth *b*) concerning a pure mind," *g* "Testament of Benjamin, to love (*τοῦ ἀγαπᾶν*) one's neighbour: twelfth discourse," *d* is conflate: "Testament of Benjamin the twelfth son of Jacob the second son of Rachel, concerning a pure mind." $A^{a\,b\,h\,c\,d\,g}$ = "Test. of Benjamin the twelfth."

I. 1. *Words* (*c β-d* $S^1$). *d* A read "Testament."

*Commanded.* διέθετο = צִוָּה.

2. *His old age* (*c d*). *β-d* A read "his hundredth year." This date is found in the Bk. of Jashar (*Dict. des Apocr.* ii. 1172). According to Jub. xix. 13, xxxii. 33 Jacob was 97 years old, but the dates regarding Jacob are inconsistent: see xlv. 13 note.

3. *My mother* (*c d* $A^b$). *β-d* $A^{ab*cdg}$ $S^1$ om.

4. This idea that Benjamin was not granted to his parents till Rachel had prayed and fasted is found also in Num. rabba xiv. 8 (*Jewish Encyc.* iii. 23).

*Twelve years.* According to Jub. xxviii. 24, xxxii. 33 it was eleven years.

*Twelve days* (*β* $S^1$). *c* om.

5. *My father* (*c g*). *β-g* $S^1$ read "our father."

6. *Benjamin, that is, a son of days.* בנימין is thus said to be derived from בן ימין, where ימין is an Aramaised form of ימים. So also Midrash Lekah-Job, and Rashi on Gen. xxxv. 18 (*Jewish Encyc.* iii. 23). The idea is possibly supported by Gen. xliv. 20, where Benjamin is called ילד זקונים, "a son of old age." This etymology is found in Philo, *De mut. nom.* § 15; Arethas on Rev. vii. 8 (Cramer's *Catena*

II. And when I went into Egypt, †to Joseph, and my brother recognised me, he said† unto me: What did they tell my father when they sold me? 2. And I said ⌜unto him⌝, They dabbled thy coat with blood and sent it, and said: Know whether this be thy son's coat.

| *c* | $\beta$ S$^1$ | A |
|---|---|---|
| 3. And he said unto me: Even so, brother, when they had stripped me of my coat they gave me to the Ishmaelites, and they gave me a loin cloth, and scourged me, and bade me run. 4. And | 3. And he said unto me: Even so, brother; for when the Ishmaelites took me, one of them stripped off my coat, and gave me a loin cloth, and scourged me, and bade me run. 4. And as | 3. And Joseph said unto me: Even so, brother, the Canaanite merchants stole me by force. 4. And it came to pass that as they went on their way they concealed my garment, as |

viii. 289). In the Bk. of Jashar (*Dict. des. Apocr.* ii. 1172) it is interpreted as "son of the south" as he was the only son born to Jacob in Palestine, his brothers having been born in Mesopotamia, north of Palestine. The biblical interpretation "son of my right hand," is given by A, probably derived from Gen. xxxv. 17, 18.

II. 1-2. According to the Bk. of Jashar (*Dict. des Apocr.* ii. 1222) Benjamin was the first to recognise Joseph and that by means of an astrolabe.

1. *And when* (*c d*). $\beta$-*d* A S$^1$ read "when therefore."

*Into Egypt, to Joseph, and my brother recognised me* (*c*). $\beta$-*d* A S$^1$ read "into Egypt and Joseph my brother recognised me." As Benjamin was only six years old (see Jub. xxxii. 33, xxxiv. 10, xlii. 20) when Joseph was sold, and as he was now twenty-nine, recognition would be difficult. On the other hand, since x. 1, which may not belong to its present context, and tells of Benjamin seeing Joseph in a vision exactly as he was in Egypt, we may reasonably suggest that x. 1 should be restored immediately before ii. 1, and that the text of *c* $\beta$-*d* A S$^1$ should be emended into "into Egypt and I recognised Joseph my brother, and he said unto me."

*What did they tell?* (*c* $\beta$-*d g*). *d g* A S$^1$ read "what did my brethren say (+regarding me, A$^{-f}$)?"

*When* (ὅτε *c a d e* A). *b f g* read ὅτι.

2. Cf. Gen. xxxvii. 31-32.

*Know whether this be* etc. Cf. T. Zeb. iv. 9.

3-5. The text of *c* is alone in harmony with the context. Joseph's brethren strip him of the coat which they send to his father, and then give (?) Joseph to the Ishmaelites. These furnish Joseph with a loin cloth and scourge him. Then a lion met one of those who had scourged Joseph and slew him. This agrees with the account in T. Zeb. iv. 10, save that there it is Joseph's brethren that clothe him with the loin cloth, "the garment of a slave." $\beta$ S$^1$ is hopelessly corrupt. A also is corrupt, but on the whole offers a consistent narrative though our text is at variance with T. Zeb. iv. 10 and the biblical account. The sequel in A in iii. 2-5 is consistent with the form of the story given in this chapter.

3. *They gave me a loin cloth.* The loin cloth or girdle is intended as the garment of a slave. Cf. T. Zeb. iv. 10.

as for one of them that had beaten me with a rod, a lion met him and slew him. 5. And so his associates were affrighted.

he went away to hide my garment, a lion met him, and slew him. 5. And so his associates were affrighted, and sold me to their companions.

though a wild beast had met me and slain me. 5. And so his associates sold me to the Ishmaelites. 6. And they did not lie in saying this. For he wished to conceal from me the deeds of my brethren. And he called to him his brethren and said: 7. Do not tell my father what ye have done unto me, but tell him as I have told Benjamin. 8. And let the thoughts among you be such, and let not these things come to the heart of my father.

III. Do ye also, therefore, my children, ⌜love the Lord God of heaven and earth, and keep His commandments,⌝ following the example of the good and holy man ⌜Joseph⌝.

$c\beta S$

2. And let your mind be unto good, even as ye know me; for he that hath his mind right, seeth all

A

2-5. For until his death he was not willing to tell regarding himself; but Jacob, having learnt it from

5. *Sold me to their companions* ($\beta S^1$). *c* is here very corrupt *ἐν ἀνέσει κατέσχεν*. A reads "sold me to the Ishmaelites." According to the Bk. of Jashar (*Dict. des Apocr.* ii. 1187-1190, 1193) the Midianites bought Joseph from his brethren and sold him to the Ishmaelites, who in turn sold him on the frontier of Egypt to four sons of Madian a son of Abraham.

8. *And let* ($A^{b*cdg}$). $A^{ab}$ read "and let not."

III. 1. *And of earth* (*c d*). *β-d* $S^1$ om. *Holy* ($e\beta S^1$). A reads "true."

things rightly. 3. Fear ye the Lord, and love your neighbour; and even though the spirits of Beliar claim you to afflict you with every evil, yet shall they not have dominion over you, even as they had not over Joseph my brother. 4. How many men wished to slay him, and God shielded him! For he that feareth God and loveth his neighbour cannot be smitten by the spirit of Beliar, being shielded by the fear of God. 5. Nor can he be ruled over by the device of men or beasts, for he is helped by the Lord through the love which he hath towards his neighbour.

the Lord, told it to him. Nevertheless he kept denying it. And then with difficulty he was persuaded by the adjurations of Israel.

6. For Joseph also besought our father ⌜that he would pray for his brethren⌝, that ⌜the Lord⌝ would not impute

3. *Claim.* So $\beta S^1$ ἐξαιτήσωνται (*c* corruptly reads ἐκστήσωσι) Cf. Luke xxii. 31 ὁ Σατανᾶς ἐξῃτήσατο ὑμᾶς τοῦ σινιάσαι ὡς τὸν σῖτον.

*Though . . . claim you to afflict (you) with every evil.* Text reads ἐὰν . . . εἰς πᾶσαν πονηρίαν †θλίψεως ἐξαιτήσωνται = אם . . . בבל רע מצוק בקשו ונשיכם, where I take מצוק to be corrupt for להציק. Hence for θλίψεως we should read τοῦ θλίβειν.

*Yet shall they not* (*c*). $\beta S^1$ read "yet shall no evil of tribulation."

4. *Spirit* (*c*). $\beta S^1$ read "the spirit of the air." With the latter phrase compare Eph. ii. 2.

5. *By the Lord through the love*; ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου διὰ τῆς ἀγάπης (*g*). $\beta$-*d g* $S^1$ read "by the love of the Lord," *d* "by the love." *c* reads ζῆν ἀπ' αὐτῆς ὑπὸ τῆς ἀγάπης. Here the text of $\beta$-*d g* $S^1$ seems to be a corruption of that of *g*; for *c* so far as it is intelligible supports *g*. Possibly βοηθούμενος ζῆν in *c* constitutes one idea = נושע. Then ἀπ' αὐτῆς = מיריה, corrupt (?) for בארוני = διὰ τοῦ κυρίου.

6. *For* (*c* $\beta S^1$). A reads "but."

*Joseph* (*c* $\beta$-*b* $A^b$). *b* $A^{ab*cdg} S^1$ om.

*Father* (*c* $\beta$-*b* A). *b* $S^1$ read "father Jacob."

*His brethren* (*c*). $\beta$-*b* read "his sons," *b* "our brethren."

to them as sin ⌜whatever evil they had done unto him.⌝ 7. And thus Jacob cried out: My good child, thou hast prevailed over the bowels of thy father Jacob. And he embraced him, and kissed him for two hours, saying:

| $c\beta S^1$ | A |
|---|---|
| 8. In thee shall be fulfilled the prophecy of heaven [concerning the Lamb of God, and Saviour of the world], that a blameless one shall be delivered up for lawless men, and a sinless shall die for ungodly men [in the blood of the covenant, for the salvation of the Gentiles and of Israel, and shall destroy Beliar and his servants]. | 8. In thee shall be fulfilled the prophecy of heaven, which says that the blameless one shall be defiled for lawless men, and the sinless one shall die for ungodly men. |

IV. See ye, therefore, my children, the end of the good

*As sin whatever evil they had done unto him* (*c*). $\beta S^1$ read (+ "as sin" *g*) "whatever evil they had devised regarding him." A = "as sin."

7. *And thus Jacob cried out* (*c* $\beta$-*d*). A reads "then Joseph weeping (Ab*cdefg "hearing") cried out and said."

*My good child* (*c a e f*). *b* reads "my child Joseph," *d g* "sweetest (*g* om.) child (*d* om.) Joseph, my good child," A "Joseph my child, sweet child."

8. The bracketed phrases which are found in $c\beta S^1$ are Christian additions. They are absent from the Armenian.

*Blameless one shall be delivered up for lawless men.* This idea of vicarious suffering and propitiation was not unfamiliar to pre-Christian Judaism, and especially with regard to the martyrs under Antiochus Epiphanes. Thus one of the seven brothers prays: "In me and my brethren may the wrath of the Almighty be stayed, which hath justly been brought upon our whole race" 2 Macc. vii. 38). The same brother in ver. 18: "We suffer these things for our own doings, as sinning against our God." The "we" here, as is clear from ver. 32, denotes the nation, not the seven brothers. Hence the martyrs undergo vicariously the punishments due to the nation. In 4 Macc. vi. 28, 29, Eliezer prays: "Be gracious to Thy people, and be satisfied with the punishment we endure on their behalf. Cause my blood to serve for their purification and accept my life in the place of theirs." The latter work belongs indeed to the first century A.D., but it expresses genuine Jewish thought on this question.

*A sinless* ($\beta S^1$). *c* A read "the sinless."

*In the blood of the covenant.* From Heb. xiii. 20.

IV. 1. *See* (*c d* A). $\beta$-*d* read "know."

*Therefore* (*c* A). $\beta$ S om.

*End* (τέλος $c\beta S^1$). A reads "mercy" (ἔλεος)—perhaps rightly.

man? Be followers of his ⌜compassion, therefore, with a good mind⌝, that ⌜ye also⌝ may wear crowns of glory. 2. For the good man hath not a †dark eye; for he showeth mercy to all men, even though they be sinners. 3. ⌜And though they devise with evil intent concerning him, by doing good he overcometh evil, being shielded by God;⌝ and he loveth the righteous as his own soul. 4. If any one is glorified, he envieth him not; if any one is enriched, he is not jealous; if any one is valiant, he praiseth him; the virtuous man he laudeth; ⌜on the poor man he hath mercy; on the weak he hath compassion; unto God he singeth praises⌝.

*c* A

5. And him that hath the grace of a good spirit he loveth as his own soul.

*β-a* $S^1$

5. As for him who hath the fear of God, he protecteth him as with a shield; him that loveth God he helpeth; him that rejecteth the Most High he ad-

*Crowns of glory.* This is the most ancient reference to such crowns. Cf. Rev. ii. 10, iii. 11, iv. 4; Jas. i. 12; Asc. Is. vii. 22, viii. 26, ix. 10-13, etc.

2. *For* (*c* $A^{ab*cd}$). *β* $A^{befg}$ $S^1$ om.

*Hath not a †dark eye* (*οὐκ ἔχει σκοτεινὸν ὀφθαλμόν*). This extraordinary expression can hardly be right. It may be a rendering of אין לו עין חשֶׁךְ, corrupt for לו עין חָשָׂה. Thus we should have: "The good man hath a compassionate eye," *i.e.* "the good man is compassionate."

3. ⌜*And though . . . being shielded by God.*⌝ Cf. T. Jos. xviii. 2.

*Devise with evil intent regarding him* (*βουλεύονται περὶ αὐτοῦ εἰς κακά—β* $S^1$). *c* reads "wish not well regarding him" (*μὴ βούλονται περὶ αὐτοῦ εἰς κάλα*). The text of *c* appears to be secondary here.

*By doing good* (*c a d e*). *b* $S^1$ read "so ($S^1$ om.) he that doeth good"; *f* "so by doing good."

*By doing good he overcometh the evil.* Cf. Rom. xii. 21 "overcome evil with good." Cf. T. Jos. xviii. 2.

*By God* (*c* $S^1$). *β* reads "by the good."

*The righteous* (*β* A $S^1$). *c* corruptly reads "the unrighteous." See last clause of ver. 5.

4. *Laudeth* (A). *c* reads "loveth" (*ἀγαπῶν*); *β-a f* "trusteth and laudeth" (*πιστεύων ὑμνεῖ*). The sense of *c* is unsatisfactory. Possibly מומר (=A) was the original word. This may have been corrupted into מאהב (=*c*), or by dittography have become מאמין מומר (=*β-a f*).

*Singeth praises* (*ἀνυμνεῖ—β*). *c* reads *φοβεῖται*=ירא, corrupt for יודה (so *β*).

5. *Of a good spirit* (*c*). A reads "from the Lord."

*Fear of God* (*b g* $S^1$). *d e f* read "fear of the Lord."

*Helpeth* (*συνεργεῖ b*). *d e f g* read *συντρέχει*=ירוץ which may be a corruption of ירצה "hath pleasure in." Cf. LXX on Ps. xlix. 18. *συνεργεῖ*=יעזור. Is this original? The parallel verb in the preceding clause supports it.

monisheth and turneth back; and him that hath the grace of a good spirit he loveth as his own soul.

V. If, ⌜therefore, ye also⌝ have a good ⌜mind⌝, then will both wicked men be at peace with you, and the profligate will reverence you ⌜and turn unto good; and the covetous will not only cease from their inordinate desire, but even give the objects of their covetousness to them that are afflicted. 2. If ye do well, even the unclean spirits will flee from you⌝; and the beasts will dread you. 3. ⌜For where there is reverence for good works and light in the mind, even darkness fleeth away from him.⌝ 4. ⌜For⌝ if any one does violence to a holy man, he repenteth; for ⌜the holy man⌝ is merciful to his reviler, and holdeth his peace.

*c*

5. And if any one betrayeth a righteous man, the righteous man prayeth: though for a little he be humbled, yet not long after he appeareth far more glorious, as was Joseph my brother.

*β-a* $S^1$

5. And if any one betrayeth a righteous soul, and the righteous man, though he prayeth, be humbled for a little, yet not long after he appeareth more glorious, even as was Joseph my brother.

VI. The inclination of the good man is not in the

V. 1. *If, therefore, ye also* (*c*). *β-a* $A^{ab*cd}$ $S^1$ read "and if"; *a* "if, therefore"; $A^{befg}$ "if."

*Have a good mind* (*c β* $S^1$). A reads "are good." *b* $S^1$ add "my children."

*Of their covetousness.* *c* adds "which they had."

2. *The unclean spirits will flee*, etc. Cf. T. Iss. vii. 7; T. Dan v. 1; T. Naph. viii. 4.

*The beasts* (*c d*). *β-d* $A^{b*cd}$ $S^1$ read "the very beasts."

*The beasts will dread you.* Cf. T. Iss. vii. 7; T. Naph. viii. 4.

3. *Reverence for good works and light* (*c*). *a e f* $S^1$ read "light of good works," *b* "reverence for good works," *d* "light, a good work," *g* "a pure light."

*Even* (*c*). *β* om.

4. *Holy* (*c β* $S^1$). A reads "true."

*Repenteth.* Cf. T. Gad vi. 6.

5. A is very corrupt: "and if a man insult a righteous soul, he is sorry, because he hath seen him humiliated, and hath repented, as was Joseph my brother."

VI. 1. *Inclination* (διαβούλιον). See note on T. Ash. i. 3.

power of the deceit of the spirit of Beliar, for the angel of peace guideth his soul. 2. ⌜And⌝ he gazeth not ⌜passionately⌝ upon corruptible things, nor gathereth together riches ⌜through a desire of pleasure⌝. 3. He delighteth not in pleasure, ⌜[he grieveth not his neighbour], he sateth not himself with luxuries, he erreth not in the uplifting of the eyes⌝, for the Lord is his portion. 4. The good inclination receiveth not glory ⌜nor dishonour⌝ from men, and it knoweth not any guile, or lie, or fighting or reviling; for the Lord dwelleth in him and lighteth up his soul, and he rejoiceth towards all men alway. 5. The good mind hath not two tongues, of blessing and of cursing, of contumely and ⌜of honour⌝, of sorrow and of joy, of quietness and of confusion, of hypocrisy and of truth, [of poverty and of wealth]; but it hath one ⌜disposition⌝, uncorrupt and pure, concerning all men. 6. It hath no double sight, nor double hearing; for in everything which

*Deceit of the spirit* (*c* β-*a f g* $S^1$). *a f* A read "deceiving spirit."

*The angel of peace.* See T. Dan vi. 5 note; T. Asher vi. 6. The angel of peace is here the Charon of the righteous soul. This is the office assigned to Michael in the Testament of Abraham (*Texts and Studies*, ii. 2, 1893), who is bidden to fetch the soul of Abraham. According to the Zohar (*Gen.* col. 303) Michael escorts the souls of the righteous to the gates of the heavenly Jerusalem. In the Apoc. Bar. (Ethiopic) ix. 5 Michael opens the gates of righteousness to the righteous. See *Jewish Encyc.* viii. 537; Lueken, *Michael*, 45 sqq. The above statements point to the identity of Michael and the angel of peace. But these authorities are late.

2. *And* (*c*). B A S om.

⌜*Through a desire for pleasure.*⌝ Text reads *εἰς φιληδονίαν*, which I take to be a mistranslation.

3. Possibly A is right in its omissions.

[*He grieveth not his neighbour.*] I have bracketed this clause because it is out of place here.

*Uplifting of the eyes.* See T. Iss. vii. 2 note.

*The Lord is his portion.* Cf. T. Lev. ii. 12.

4. *The good inclination.* See note on T. Ash. i. 3.

*Receiveth not glory* ⌜*nor dishonour*⌝ *from men* (*c* β-*a* $S^1$ save that for "nor" *c* reads merely *οὐκ*, and β-*a* $S^1$ *καί*). Cf. John v. 41 "I receive not glory from men"; also v. 44.

*Knoweth not* (β-*a* A $S^1$). *c* om.

*Lighteth up his soul.* Cf. T. Gad v. 7.

*He rejoiceth.* The context appears to require a transitive verb. *χαίρει* = יחדה, which may be corrupt for יְחַדֵּהוּ = *εὐφραίνει αὐτόν*, "causeth him to rejoice." Indeed *d* actually adds this phrase (as a dittography) after "the good mind" in the next verse, where it is out of place.

*Rejoiceth towards all men alway.* Cf. Phil. iv. 4 "rejoice in the Lord alway."

5. *Two tongues of blessing and of cursing.* Cf. James iii. 10.

*Of sorrow and of joy* (β A $S^1$ save that for "joy" A reads "flattery"). *c* om.

*Of poverty and of wealth.* Bracketed as an interpolation. A om.

he doeth, ⌜or speaketh, or seeth, he knoweth that the Lord looketh on his soul. 7. And he cleanseth his mind that he be not condemned by men as well as⌝ by God. And in like manner the works of Beliar are twofold, and there is no singleness in them.

$c\beta S^1$

VII. Therefore, my children, I tell you, flee the malice of Beliar; for he

A

Flee, my children, malice [and fornication]; for it giveth a sword to them that obey it.

7. A is very defective: "by God. The works of God and of Beliar are twofold, and there is no singleness."

*He cleanseth his mind that he be not condemned by men as well as by God.* Cf. 1 Cor. xi. 31, 32 "if we discerned ourselves, we should not be judged. But when we are judged, we are chastened of the Lord that we may not be condemned with the world."

*By men as well as by God. And in like manner the works of Beliar*, etc. (*c*). $\beta$-*a* $S^1$ read "by God and men. And every work of Beliar also is twofold and hath no singleness."

VII. 1-2. The text is corrupt. Either the clause "giveth a sword to them that obey him and the sword," or the clause "the mind conceiveth through Beliar," is corrupt or interpolated. If the latter is original, that is, if the mind conceives through Beliar and becomes the mother of seven evil conditions of the individual or society, then the sword cannot at the same time be the mother of these. First let us strike out the first clause and reversing the order of the next two read: "flee ye . . . the malice of Beliar; for the mind conceives (evil) through Beliar and it becomes the mother of seven evils: and first there is," etc. This gives a satisfactory text. Next let us suppose the first clause to be original. In that case the form of the second in $c\beta S^1$ must be rejected as corrupt, and that in A adopted: "flee ye . . . the malice of Beliar; for he giveth a sword to those who obey him. 2. And the sword is the mother of seven evils, and it receives (them) through Beliar." It might further be urged that λαμβάνει stood originally in the Greek and was changed into συλλαμβάνει ("conceives") through the influence of the preceding clause. If we adopt the latter supposition (and indeed in any case) we must emend the following word φθόνος ("envy") into φόνος ("bloodshed"); for the sword could not be said to be the mother of envy, nor yet could envy be described as a plague inflicted from without—a vengeance inflicted by God. See ver. 3. Verse 4, further, appears to favour this emendation where it speaks of Cain being judged with the seven evils or plagues. Or again, חרב, "sword," may be corrupt for חרון, "wrath." In that case we should adopt the text of A. With the above seven plagues we might compare the eight given in Sir. xl. 9:

θάνατος καὶ αἷμα καὶ ἔρις καὶ ῥομφαία ἐπαγωγαὶ λιμὸς καὶ σύντριμμα καὶ μάστιξ.

Of which the Hebrew is:

דבר ודם חרחר והרב
שר ושבר רעב ומות

In the *Sayings of the Fathers*, v. 11, the seven are made up of three kinds of famine—famine (רעב) from drought (בצורת), from tumult (מהומה), and from destruction (כלייה)—and pestilence (דבר), sword (חרב), noisome beast (חיה רעה), and exile (גלות). It will be observed that famine, tumult, destruction, exile are common to the latter list and our text.

1. *My children.* *c* adds "I say unto you."

*Malice* or "evil." $A^{ab*cd}$ reads "fornication and malice" ($A^{bh}$ "malice and fornication," $A^{efg}$ "fornication").

giveth a sword to them that obey him.

*c b g*

2. And the sword is the mother of seven evils. First the mind conceiveth through Beliar, †and first there is bloodshed; secondly, ruin; thirdly, tribulation; fourthly, exile; fifthly, dearth; sixthly, panic; seventhly, destruction.

*β-b g* $S^1$

2. And the sword is the mother of seven evils. First the mind conceiveth through Beliar: and sometimes it brings forth first, bloodshed; secondly, ruin; thirdly, tribulation; fourthly, captivity; fifthly, dearth; sixthly, panic; seventhly, destruction.

A

2. And the sword is the mother of seven evils, and it receives (them) through Beliar. And first there is bloodshed (etc., as in *c* β $S^1$).

3. Therefore was Cain also delivered over to seven

*Giveth a sword to* (α β Aβ). Aα reads "is a sword in the hands of."

*Him* (*c*). β $S^1$ read "it."

2. *First the mind.* The word "first" here cannot have been original.

*The mind conceiveth through Beliar* (*c* β-*d g* $S^1$). *d* reads "the mind conceiveth wickedness through the malice of Beliar." On this clause see note on 1-2.

*And sometimes it brings forth* (*a e f* $S^1$ ἔστιν δὲ ὅτε (ὃ *e*, ὅταν *f*) τίκτει πρῶτον, *d* ἔστι δὲ τὸ πρῶτον τίκτει). This clause is probably a late corruption. See note on 1-2.

*Bloodshed.* Here text reads φθόνος corrupt for φόνος = αἷμα (*i.e.* דם) in the list in Sirach given in note on 1-2. The first evil that followed Cain's surrender to Beliar was his murder of Abel.

*Ruin, i.e.* ἀπώλεια. This should perhaps have come in the sixth place, and "panic," which stands in the sixth place, should be read here in the second. After slaying Abel, Cain is filled with panic or affright.

*Exile.* The text reads αἰχμαλωσία, but this is a misleading rendering here of גָּלוּת, "exile." Cain goes as an exile into the land of Nod.

*Dearth.* Here ἔνδεια = רעב. Possibly in "destitution," "tumult," and "destruction" we may have the three degrees of visitation mentioned in *Sayings of the Fathers*, v. 11, dearth (רעב) from drought, from tumult (מהומה), and from complete destruction (בלייה).

*Panic.* So I have rendered ταραχή, taking it as a translation of הלחלה or בעתה or בלהה. This evil should perhaps have been given in the second place. Thus there would be a natural sequence in the punishments. On the other hand, it is possible that ταραχή may be a rendering of מהומה, a tumult or confusion arising through war; but there are stronger grounds for supposing that we have here a transposition of the second and sixth evils.

*Destruction.* Text has ἐρήμωσις. This might mean only "desolation," but it can also mean "destruction," and the occurrence of ἐρημοῦται in ver. 4 in connection with the death of Cain points to that meaning here.

3-4. Our text gives a peculiar turn to Gen. iv. 15, 24. According to the latter a sevenfold vengeance was to be taken on the slayer of Cain. But quite a different account is given in our text. According to it Cain was to be punished every hundred years by one of the seven plagues enumerated in ver. 2.

vengeances by God, for in every hundred years the Lord brought one plague upon him.

*c*

4. And when he was two hundred years old he began to suffer, and in the nine-hundredth year he was destroyed. For on account of Abel, his brother, with all the evils was he judged, but Lamech with seventy times seven.

*β* A

4. When he was two hundred years old he began to suffer, and in his nine-hundredth year he was destroyed [at the Flood], on account of Abel, his righteous brother. With the seven evils, therefore, was Cain judged, but Lamech with seventy times ⌜seven⌝.

5. Because forever those who are like unto Cain ⌜in envy and hatred of brethren⌝, shall be punished ⌜with the same judgment⌝.

This punishment was to begin in his two hundredth year and be consummated in his nine hundredth, when he was to be destroyed. This date is against Jub. iv. 1, 31, according to which Cain was killed by a house falling on him in the year 930 A.M., when he was in his 860th year or thereabouts. On this subject see my note on Jub. iv. 31-32. But to return to our text, it declares that Cain was punished with seven plagues for slaying Abel, and that Lamech was to be punished with seventy times seven. Since the punishment of Lamech is here connected with that of Cain, it is possible that we have here the first reference to the legend found in Jarchi's, Comm. on Gen. iv. 23; Book of Adam and Eve ii. 13; Tanchuma Bereshith 6 *b* (ed. Vienna); Jalkut i. 38; Book of Jashar (Section Bereshith, *Dict. des Apocr.* ii.), that Lamech slew Cain. Thus it seems to be implied that as Cain was punished with seven plagues for the murder of Abel and Lamech with seventy times seven for the murder of Cain.

4. *Two hundred years old.* According to Jub. iv. 2 Cain was from thirty to thirty-five years old when he slew Abel. As the punishment according to our author lasted 700 years Cain died at the age of 900 years. This also is at variance with Jubilees. See preceding note.

[*At the Flood*]. So *b d g* A interpolate, but no system of chronology could justify this addition. According to the Samaritan the flood took place in the year 1307 A.M., to the Hebrew 1656, to the LXX 2242.

*With the seven evils* or "plagues" (*a d g* A). *c* reads "with all the evils," *b e f* "in the 700 years." We have above (note on 3-4) remarked on the peculiar interpretation here given to Gen. iv. 15, 24 by our text. This idea of punishment being inflicted throughout seven generations is found in Onkelos and Ps.-Jon. on Gen. iv. 15: whoso killeth Cain vengeance will be enacted from him for seven generations (לשבעה דרין יתפרע מניה). In the same Targums, however, on iv. 24 the idea is put forward that the punishment of Cain is adjourned to the seventh generation. Again Josephus (*Ant.* i. 2. 2) represents Lamech as discovering by divination that he was to be punished for Cain's murder of Abel.

5. *Unto Cain* (*c β-b* A$^{b}$). A$^{-b}$ read unto "them."

*And hatred of brethren* (*c*). *β-a d* S$^{1}$ "unto hatred of brethren."

$c\beta S^1$

VIII. And do ye, my children, flee evil-doing, envy, and hatred of brethren, and cleave to goodness and love. 2. He that hath a pure mind in love, looketh not after a woman with a view to fornication; for he hath no defilement in his heart, because the Spirit of God resteth upon him.

A

VIII. Do ye, therefore, my children, flee evil-doing and cleave to goodness. 2. For he that hath it looketh not on a woman with a view to fornication, and he beholdeth no defilement; for there resteth upon him a holy spirit.

3. For ⌈as⌉ the sun is not defiled by shining on dung and mire, ⌈but rather drieth up both and driveth away the evil smell⌉; so also the pure mind, though encompassed by the defilements of earth, rather cleanseth (them) and is not itself defiled.

IX. And I believe that there will be also evil-doings

*Punished* ($c\,d$ A). $\beta$-$a$ $S^1$ read "judged."

*Judgment* ($c$). $\beta$-$a$ $d$ $S^1$ read "punishment."

VIII. 1-2. The version of A seems to be the most original except perhaps in omitting "in the heart." The subject of the chapter is a good or a pure mind. Hence we should probably reject the clauses omitted by A save that just referred to.

1. *And do ye* ($c$). $\beta$ A $S^1$ read "and (A om.) do ye therefore."

2. This seems to be the original of Matt. v. 28.

*Hath no defilement in his heart* ($c\,\beta\,S^1$). A "beholdeth no defilement," but the former seems better in keeping with the context.

3. *By shining on.* $c$ $\beta$-$f$ A $S^1$ read προσέχων, $f$ λάμπων. The latter is clearly right, though it can only have been a scribe's conjecture. προσέχων ἐπὶ = בְּהַנָּהַר ב (cf. Sir. xiii. 13). But the word should have been pointed בְּהַזְהִיר = λάμπων (cf. Dan xii. 3). Another possible but unlikely explanation is found by taking προσέχων = בהופיע (cf. LXX Job x. 3), which, however, = λάμπων. On the other hand, if we compare T. Lev. iii. 1, where the sun is said to be "gloomy since it beholds (ὁρᾷ) all the unrighteous deeds of men," we might take προσέχων, a rendering of בהקשׁיב, corrupt (?) for בהשקף = "looking forth upon."

*Cleanseth* (*them*). The text reads "buildeth (them) up" (οἰκοδομεῖ). But this is meaningless. What we require is clear from the context. As the sun is not defiled with the foul things it shines on but rather drives away their foulness, so the pure mind is not defiled by the defilements which encompass it but rather *cleanses* them. Hence I take it that יבנה = (οἰκοδομεῖ) is corrupt for יְזַכֶּה = "cleanseth."

IX. 1. *And I believe* ($\beta$ $S^1$). $c$ reads "and I tell you," A "but I believe."

*That there will be also evil-doings among you* ($\beta$ A $S^1$). $c$ is defective: "also doings."

among you, from the words of Enoch the righteous: that ye shall commit fornication with the fornication of Sodom, and shall perish, all save a few, and shall renew wanton deeds with women; and the kingdom of the Lord shall not be among you, for straightway He shall take it away.

$c\beta S^1$

2. Nevertheless the temple of God shall be in your portion, and the last (temple) shall be more glorious than the first. And the twelve tribes shall be gathered together there, and all the Gentiles, until the Most

A

2. But in your portion shall be His inheritance. And on account of the temple of the Lord, Jacob exalted me that I should be glorified through it. And the twelve tribes shall be gathered there and all the Gentiles. [3.

*From the words of Enoch the righteous* ($c\beta$-$d$ $S^1$). $d$ reads "for I have learnt from the book of the words of Enoch the righteous," A "for I heard from the words of our fathers." $d$ A give a better sense.

*That* ($c$ $d$ A). $\beta$-$d$ $S^1$ read "for."

*And shall perish, all but a few.* These words would read better after the next clause.

*Shall renew wanton deeds* ($\beta$-$g$). $c$ reads "and again ye shall be renewed," A "shall be renewed unto wanton deeds." Here the word "renew" is hardly satisfactory. ἀνανεώσησθε = תחדשו, which is possibly corrupt for תחרשו = "ye will perpetrate."

*For straightway He shall take it away* ($\beta$ $S^1$). $c$ omits. $A^{abb}$ read "the upright (= εὐθεῖς) shall take it away," $A^{b*cd}$ "an upright man shall take it away." Thus A takes εὐθύς here as an adjective. The reference in that case would be to David who took the kingdom from Saul the Benjamite. The text in any case refers to the change of dynasty from Benjamin to Judah (*i.e.* from Saul to David).

2. With the exception of the interpolation at the close, the text of $c\beta S^1$ is here preferable, since A is certainly confused and, I think, in part corrupt. According to $c\beta S^1$ the two temples are referred to and the greater glory of the second in accordance with the prophecy of Haggai ii. 9. Our text is a free, independent rendering of the Hebrew of Haggai, differing from the LXX. Our author naturally looked on the glorious times of John Hyrcanus as a fulfilment of Haggai's prophecy, and its fulfilment was to consist in the worship of the Twelve Tribes and of the Gentiles in the second Temple. In our author's view the Twelve Tribes are already present in Palestine, and it was not wholly strange if he looked for the speedy conversion of the Gentiles seeing that Israel had internally been cleansed from the defilements of Hellenism and had externally triumphed over all its heathen foes.

*The temple of God shall be in your portion.* This was clearly a subject of much elation to Benjamin. See Onkelos and Ps.-Jon. on Gen. xlix. 27.

*His inheritance* (A). This phrase if original might refer to David.

2. *The last* (*temple*) *shall be more glorious* ($c$ $d$ $g$). $a$ $e$ $f$ $S^1$ read "shall be more glorious." The LXX Haggai ii. 9 reads μεγάλη ἔσται ἡ δόξα τοῦ οἴκου τούτου ἡ ἐσχάτη ὑπὲρ τὴν πρώτην, but our text gives a free, independent rendering.

*And all the Gentiles.* No writer could have spoken so of the first Temple, but such an expectation would naturally be cherished by a devout Pharisaic upholder of the Maccabees in

High shall send forth His salvation in the visitation of

the second century B.C. This expectation, in fact, is in keeping with the large ethical spirit of the writer. On the other hand, if the words were a Christian interpolation, the order would be "all the Gentiles and the Twelve Tribes." Cf. T. Sim. vii. 2; T. Jos. xix. 11; T. Benj. iii. 8.

But we must treat this important subject at some length. The salvation of the Gentiles belongs to the very texture of the book. This will appear from various grounds. i. Thus our author is the first Jewish writer to quote with any adequate recognition of their significance through the rest of his work the notable words of Gen. i. 27 "God created man in His own image." Only once before had any author (Sir. xvii. 3) quoted in the interval between their first occurrence in Genesis and their reappearance in our text, and this author showed no consciousness of their deepest significance. Starting from such a foundation it is not strange that our author, like the greatest prophets of the past, should look forward to the salvation of the Gentiles. ii. Again, as the mind of our author was of a profoundly ethical character, it is natural that he should look to the achievement of salvation through character rather than through outward ordinances as the author of the contemporary Book of Jubilees did. The law, no doubt, furnished the norm according to which character should be shaped, but as our author teaches that the Law was given to lighten every man (T. Levi xiv. 4) it was clear to him that the salvation of the Gentiles was designed by God when he gave the Law. iii. The universalism of our author is further manifest in his conception of the character and functions of Michael. This angel is the guardian of the righteous of all nations (T. Lev. v. 7 $\beta$ A$\beta$ S$^1$) and the Mediator between God and man (T. Dan vi. 2), and offers sacrifice as a priest in the highest heaven but one on behalf of the sons of men (T. Lev. iii. 5 combined with v. 7). This function of intercession belongs also to the priesthood, and particularly to the new priesthood of the Maccabees

And the Lord shall be treated with outrage and set at

(T. Lev. viii. 14), an intercession which was to be exercised on behalf of the Gentiles. That the Messiah from Levi was to exercise this and other high prerogatives in a supreme degree appears from the Messianic hymn in T. Lev. xviii.

We shall now mention the various passages where the salvation of the Gentiles is foretold. According to T. Lev. iv. 4 "the Lord shall visit all the Gentiles," and "reveal his salvation to all the Gentiles" T. Benj. x. 5, "and establish a new priesthood to be an intercessor for them" T. Lev. viii. 14, "and save mankind" T. Sim. vi. 5, "Israel and all the Gentiles" T. Ash. vii. 3, T. Naph. viii. 3, even "every race of mankind" T. Lev. ii. 11, "and gather together the Twelve Tribes and all the Gentiles" T. Benj. ix. 2, and "the righteous of the Gentiles," T. Naph. viii. 3, "and His name shall be in every place of Israel and among the Gentiles" T. Dan vi. 7, "and all the peoples shall glorify the Lord" T. Jud. xxv. 5.

On the other hand when we find such an expression as, "saving all the Gentiles and Israel" T. Jos. xix. 11, we may regard the text as corrupt or interpolated. No pre-Christian Jew would have put the Gentiles before the Jews. In this case "all the Gentiles and" is an interpolation as it is omitted by A. There is a similar interpolation in $\alpha\beta$ S$^1$ in T. Benj. iii. 8, where A again preserves the original, also in T. Benj. xii. 2 "enlightening with new knowledge all the Gentiles," and again (omitted by A) in T. Sim. vii. 2, where $\alpha\beta$ S$^1$ read "all the Gentiles and the race of Israel," A has "all nations and peoples of mankind." Only three other passages call for comment. The first is T. Jud. xxiv. 6 "a rod of righteousness to the Gentiles." This passage, as we discover on examination belongs to the first century B.C. and speaks of the Messiah from Judah. The second T. Zeb. ix. 8 is only found in *b d g*; the third, which is in T. Sim. vi. 4 "where every people shall perish," must be corrupt as it is in conflict with vi. 4 and all the rest of the Testaments.

an †only-begotten prophet. 3. [And He shall enter into the [first] temple, and there shall the Lord be treated with outrage, and He shall be lifted up upon a tree. 4. And the veil of the temple shall be rent, and the Spirit of God shall pass on to the Gentiles as fire poured forth. 5. And He shall ascend from Hades and shall pass from earth into heaven. And I know how lowly He shall be upon earth, and how glorious in heaven.]

nought. 5. And he will depart from earth to heaven: for I knew how He is on earth and how in heaven, or what is His measure and place and way.]

X. Now when Joseph was in Egypt, I longed to see his figure ⌜and the form of his countenance⌝; and through the prayers of Jacob my father I saw him, while awake in the day-time, even his entire figure exactly as he was.

2. ⌜And when he had said these things, he said unto them:⌝ Know ye, therefore, my children, that I am dying.

*Until the Most High . . . †only-begotten prophet* (*β-b*). So also *c*, but that for "an only-begotten prophet" it gives a Christian recast "His only-begotten Son." I have obelised "only-begotten." *μονογενής* = יחיד. The latter may mean merely "illustrious," "eminent" (see Levy, *Neuhebräisches Wörterbuch*, ii. 234), or יחיד may be corrupt for ירד. Compare T. Lev. viii. 15, where it is said of Hyrcanus, "his presence is beloved as a prophet of the Most High." Thus we should have "of a beloved prophet." It is noteworthy that Benjamin is called "beloved of the Lord" (xi. 2).

3-5. Christian interpolations. The process has advanced farther in *c* β $S^1$ than in A in ver. 3. The verbs in this verse, "outraged" (*ὑβρισθήσεται*) and "set at nought" (*ἐξουθενωθήσεται*), are apparently derived from Luke xviii. 32 and Mark ix. 12 (cf. Luke xxiii. 11).

4. *Veil of the temple*, etc. Cf. Matt. xxvii. 51.

*Pass on to* (*cβ-bd*). *b* $S^1$ read "ascend," *d* "descend."

5. *Hades* (*ᾅδου c b d g*). *ef* $S^1$ read "people" (*λάου*).

*And I know . . . in heaven* (β $A^{a\,b}$ $S^1$). *c* $A^{b*cd\,eg}$ omit.

X. 1. This verse seems out of place here and is rightly omitted by *c*. It should perhaps be restored at the beginning of ii., and the text of ii. 1 emended as suggested in the note on that passage.

*I saw him . . . as he was.* A reads "I saw his living figure."

*c*

3. Do ye, therefore, truth each one to his neighbour, and keep the law of the Lord and His commandments.

*β* A S[1]

3. Do ye, therefore, truth and righteousness ⌜each one to his neighbour⌝, and judgment unto confirmation, and keep the law of the Lord and His commandments.

4. For these things do I leave you instead of inheritance. Do ye also, ⌜therefore,⌝ give them to your children for an everlasting possession; for so did both Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob. 5. For all these things they gave us for an inheritance, saying: Keep the commandments of God, until the Lord shall reveal His salvation to all Gentiles. 6. ⌜And⌝ then shall ye see Enoch, Noah, and Shem, and Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, rising on the right hand in gladness.

3. *Work, therefore* (*c β* S[1]). A reads "and I command you to work."

*Truth and righteousness* (*β* S[1]). A inverts the order.

*And judgment unto confirmation* (*β-a* S[1]). A[b*cd] read "and judgment unto faith in the Lord." *a* A[abh] omit.

3. *I leave* (*c*). So also A "I give." Thus *c* A = מְנִיחַ. *β* S[1] read "I teach" = מַנִּיר, מוֹרֶה or מָבִין. a corruption of the former.

*An everlasting possession* (*κατάσχεσιν αἰώνιον*). Cf. the Thucydidean phrase *κτῆμα ἐς ἀεί*.

4. *For all* (*c*). *β-g* A S[1] read "all."

5. *Saying: Keep the commandments of God* (*c β* S[1]). A reads "And they said, So do ye."

*To all Gentiles* (*c β* S[1]). A reads "in all the earth."

6-7. The doctrine of the resurrection in the Testaments is of a primitive character. The scene to which the blessed rise is the present earth as in 1 En. vi.–xxxvi., lxxxiii.–xc. But the earth is apparently to undergo a gradual transformation (see my note on Jub. i. 29): at any rate the lawless shall cease to do evil and sin shall come to an end (T. Lev. xviii. 9). To this kingdom the righteous shall rise. First the patriarchs Enoch, Noah, Shem, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob will rise in joy, ver. 6, T. Jud. xxv. 1, 2: then the twelve sons of Jacob, each over his own tribe, ver. 7, T. Sim. vi. 7; T. Zeb. x. 2. Then all will rise, some to glory and some to dishonour, ver. 8, T. Jud. xxv. 4, and the judgment will ensue. Thus our author's doctrine of the resurrection is a further development of that in Dan xii. 1, 2, whereas 1 En. lxxxiii.–xc. and 2 Macc. vi.–vii. speak only of a resurrection of the righteous.

The scene of the kingdom is to be on the present earth. Its members are to enter Eden, and eat of the tree of life, T. Lev. xviii. 10, 11, and to dwell in the New Jerusalem, T. Dan v. 12. The twelve sons of Jacob were to rule over the twelve tribes of Israel, T. Jud. xxv. 1; T. Zeb. x. 2 (cf. T. Benj. x. 7).

6. *And then* (*c*). *β* A S[1] read "then."

*Noah and Shem* (*β-d* S[1] save that *a ef* omit "and"). *c* reads "and Seth." But "Seth" is barely referred to in Jewish pre-Christian Apocalypses. *d* A read "and (*d* A[b] om.) Noah."

*On the right hand* (*β* A S[1]). *c* reads "on His right hand." This appears to be the earliest use of this phrase in this technical sense. Cf. Matt. xxv. 33, 34.

$c\beta S^1$

7. Then shall we also rise, each one over our tribe, worshipping the King of heaven, [who appeared upon earth in the form of a man in humility. And as many as believe on Him on the earth shall rejoice with Him].

8. Then also all men shall rise, some unto glory and some unto shame. And the Lord shall judge Israel first, for their unrighteousness; [for when He appeared as God in the flesh to deliver them they believed Him not]. 9. And then shall He judge all the Gentiles, [as many as believed Him not when He appeared upon earth]. 10. And He shall

A

7. Then shall we also rise, each over our own tribe, and we shall worship the heavenly King.

8. Then shall we all be changed, some into glory and some into shame; for the Lord judges Israel first for the unrighteousness which they have committed.

9. And then so (shall He judge) all the Gentiles.

10. And He shall convict

7-10. A is here to be followed.

7. *Over our tribe* ($\beta S^1$). *c* omits.

*In humility* (*c*). $\beta S^1$ read "of humility."

*Believe* (*c g*). $\beta$-*g* $S^1$ read "believed."

8. *Then also all* (*b d g* $S^1$). *c* reads "and all," *a e f* "when all also," $A^{abh}$ "then all," $A^{b*cdefg}$ "then we also."

*All men shall rise* ($c\beta S^1$). A corruptly reads "we shall be changed," a rendering of ἀλλαγησόμεθα. Perhaps the latter is a corruption of ἀναστησόμεθα. But in any case the Greek and Slavonic are right here in giving the third plural of the verb.

*Some to glory*, etc. Cf. Dan. xii. 2, "some to everlasting life and some to shame."

*Their unrighteousness* (*c*). $\beta$-*d* $S^1$ read "the unrighteousness (done) to Him."

*God in the flesh* (*c*). $\beta$ reads "God in the flesh, a deliverer."

10. The conduct of the best heathen will form the norm according to which Israel shall be judged. The haggadic story referring to the Madianites is not known. The text is very uncertain. $A^{abh}$ omit the clause "And he shall convict . . . Gentiles," through homoioteleuton. *c* omits the entire verse.

*As he convicted Esau through the Madianites who loved* (A). That this is the original text we may reasonably infer from its parallelism with the preceding clause. The text of $\beta S^1$ on the other hand presents no such parallelism, and indeed fails to give any good sense. For "who loved" (=τοῖς ἀγαπήσασιν) *b g* $S^1$ read τοῖς ἀπατήσασιν, *a e f* ἀπιστήσασιν (a corruption of *d*), *d* ἀποστή-

convict Israel through the chosen ones of the Gentiles, even as he reproved Esau through the Madianites, who †deceived their brethren, [so that they fell into fornication, and idolatry; and they were alienated from God,] becoming therefore children in the portion of them that fear the Lord.

Israel through the chosen Gentiles, as He convicted Esau through the Madianites who loved their brethren. Be ye therefore, my children, in the portion of them that fear the Lord.

11. If ye ⌜therefore, my children,⌝ walk in holiness ⌜according to the commandments of the Lord⌝, ye shall again dwell securely with me, and all Israel shall be gathered unto the Lord.

| *c* | *β* S¹ | A |
|---|---|---|
| XI. And I shall no longer be called a | XI. And I shall no longer be called a | XI. And I shall no longer be called a |

σασιν. If A is original then not only are the readings of *b g a e f* and *d* corruptions, but the subsequent words "so that they fell . . . alienated from God," must be regarded as an addition made to explain the corrupt reading ἀπατήσασιν or ἀποστήσασιν. This addition would refer to the Midianites who tempted Israel to whoredom and idolatry: see Num. xxv. Since there seems no way to explain this reference in connection with the text, I have bracketed it as an interpolation and followed A as representing the original.

[*So that they fell*, etc.] See preceding note.

*Becoming*. It is best to read the imperative here with A.

*Therefore* (οὖν—*a*). So also A. *β-a* reads "not" (οὐ). *a* here alone of *β* retains the original, although, to be consistent, it should have changed οὖν into οὐ as it has admitted the interpolated clause which led to this change in *β-a*.

11. *If ye* ⌜*therefore, my children*⌝ (*c*). *d e f* read "if ye therefore," *a b g* S¹ "but if ye," A "for if ye."

*According to the commandments of* (*c*). *β* S¹ read "before the face of." Here κατὰ πρόσωπον = על-פני, while *c* = על-פי.

*Dwell securely*. Here κατοικήσετε ἐν ἐλπίδι is a mistranslation of תשבו לבטח. The same mistranslation is found in the LXX in Ezek. xxviii. 26, xxxiv. 27, 28; Zeph. ii. 15.

*All Israel . . . unto the Lord* (*c b g* A S¹ save that for "unto the Lord," A reads "unto me"). *a e f* "ye shall be gathered together (even) all Israel unto the Lord."

XI. This chapter admirably exemplifies the process of Christian interpolation. First we have in A a text wholly free from interpolation, in which Benjamin speaks simply of the future character of his tribe. Next in *c* we have a slightly extended text, which by virtue of the extensions is transformed into a prophecy of the Messiah descended from Judah and Levi. The order "Judah and Levi" (see T. Gad viii. 1) is instructive. Finally, quite a different turn is given in *β* S¹ to the passage by large Christian additions by which the text becomes an elaborate prophecy not of the Messiah, as in *c*, but with no little aptness of Paul,

ravening wolf on account of your ravages, but [a worker of the Lord distributing food to them that work what is good. 2. And there shall arise in the latter days] one beloved of the Lord, [of the tribe of Judah and Levi], a doer of His good pleasure in his mouth, [with new knowledge enlightening the Gentiles].

ravening wolf on account of your ravages, but [a worker of the Lord, distributing food to them that work what is good. 2. And there shall rise up from my seed in the latter times] one beloved of the Lord, [hearing upon the earth His voice], and a doer of the good pleasure of His will, [enlightening with new knowledge all the Gentiles, even the light of knowledge,

†captain of robbers, and a †wolf, on account of your ravages, 2. But one beloved of the Lord, and a doer of the good pleasure of His mouth.

who was the greatest descendant of Benjamin. The first application of the blessing of Benjamin (Gen. xlix. 27) to St. Paul was made by Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.* v. 1 and *Scorpiace* 13. See note on ver. 1.

1. *I shall be called.* A reads "he shall be called," by a slight internal corruption.

*A ravening wolf.* From Gen. xlix. 27. A is here obviously corrupt. Various explanations of this expression are given in Shir. rabba viii. 1 (see *Jewish Encyc.* iii. 24), but none of them throws any light on our text.

*A worker of the Lord distributing food to them that work what is good.* This clause I have bracketed as an interpolation; for first it is omitted by A. Next the phrase "distributing food" (*διαδιδούς τροφήν*) is derived from the peculiar rendering of the LXX of Gen. xlix. 27 *δίδωσιν* (AD *διαδώσει*, F *διαδίδωσιν*) *τροφήν*, where the Massoretic has "divides the spoil" (יְחַלֵּק שָׁלָל). Tertullian (*Adv. Marc.* v. 1, *Scorpiace* 13) was apparently the first to apply Benjamin's prophecy (Gen. xlix. 27) to St. Paul. He clearly used the LXX since he renders Gen. xlix. 27 in the former passage by Beniamin . . . lupus rapax : . . dabet escam.

2. *One beloved of the Lord.* These words are applied to Benjamin in Deut. xxxiii. 12. This phrase suggested very naturally the Messiah to the Christian scribe who introduced the interpolations into *c*. For "the Beloved" was a standing Christian designation of Christ. See Armitage Robinson in Hastings' *B.D.* ii. 501, and my edition of the Asc. Is. i. 4 (note).

*Of his mouth* (A$^{bb*cdefg}$). *c* reads "in His mouth." $\beta$ A$^{ah}$S$^{i}$ read "of His will." Thus $\beta$ A $\alpha$ S$^{1}$ = ברצונו, *c* בפיהו. The phrase "good pleasure of His will" is found in Eph. i. 5.

*Even the light of knowledge.* I have taken this phrase as an apposition to the "new knowledge." It could also be connected with the words that follow "as a light of knowledge bursting in, etc."

bursting in upon Israel for salvation and tearing away from them like a wolf, and giving to the synagogue of the Gentiles.

β

3. Until the consummation of the age shall he be in the synagogues of the Gentiles, and among their rulers, as a strain of music in the mouth of all. 4. And he shall be inscribed in the holy books, both his work and his word, and he shall be a chosen one of God for ever. 5. And through them he shall go to and fro as Jacob my father, saying: He shall fill up that which lacketh of thy tribe].

c

XII. And when he had said these things he stretched out his feet, 2. And died †in [a beautiful] and good sleep.† 3. And his sons did as he had enjoined them, and they took up his body and buried it in Hebron with his fathers. 4. And the number (of the days) of his

β A $S^1$

XII. And when he finished his words, he said: I command you, my children, carry up my bones out of Egypt, and bury me at Hebron, near my fathers. 2. So Benjamin died a hundred and twenty-five years old, at a good old age, and they placed him in a coffin. 3. And in the

*Bursting in upon Israel* (ἐπεμβαίνων τῷ Ἰ. *b e g*). *d f* read ἐπιβαίνων, *a* λάμπων.

5. *Through them . . . my father* (*e f* save that *e* read "because of him," instead of "through them"). *b* reads "because of him Jacob my father instructed me" (thus reading συνέτισέ με where *e f* read φοιτήσει ὡς. *g* reads διὰ τοῦτο ἐφυσίωσέν με. *a d* omit. Text quite uncertain.

*Fill up that which lacketh.* A familiar Pauline phrase. Cf. 2 Cor. xi. 9; Phil. ii. 30; Col. i. 24.

*Thy tribe* (*b g*). *d e f* read "thy belly."

XII. The two recensions again differ here, and in this instance it is β A $S^1$ which best preserve this chapter both as to the fulness and order of its contents.

1. *He said.* A adds "unto them."

2. *At a good old age* (β A $S^1$). Here *c* corruptly reads "in a beautiful and good sleep," which implies a dittographic rendering of טובה, and the corruption of שיבה into שינה. See T. Zeb. x. 6; T. Dan vii. 1; T. Ash. viii. 1; T. Jos. xx. 4.

3. On this verse see the note on T. Gad viii. 5.

life were a hundred and twenty-five years.

ninety-first year from the entrance of the children of Israel into Egypt, they and their brethren brought up the bones of their fathers secretly during the Canaanitish war; and they buried them in Hebron, by the feet of their fathers. 4. And they returned from the land of Canaan and dwelt in Egypt until the day of their departure from the land of Egypt.

*The entrance of the children of Israel into Egypt.* Here the text corruptly reads "the exodus of the children of Israel from Egypt"—a statement in itself absurd and inconsistent with ver. 4.

*Canaanitish war.* See notes on T. Sim. viii. 2; T. Gad viii. 5.

4. At the close *f* $S^1$ add "Benjamin, the twelfth son of Jacob, the second son of Rachel, lived 125 years."

# APPENDICES

# APPENDIX I

## TRANSLATION OF A LATE HEBREW TESTAMENT OF NAPHTALI, WHICH CONTAINS FRAGMENTS OF THE ORIGINAL TESTAMENT.

*These fragments are in italics, and their parallels in the original Testament given in the margin.*

THIS IS THE TESTAMENT OF NAPHTALI, SON OF JACOB.

I. The Testament of Naphtali, Naphtali the son of Jacob, *whom Bilhah, the handmaid of Rachel, had borne him[1] [*the wrestlings of God*].[2] When Naphtali had grown old, and had come to a good old age, and had completed his years of strength, and fulfilled the duty of the earth-born man, he began to command his children, and he said unto them, "My children, come and draw near and receive the commands of your father." 2. And they answered and said unto him, "Lo, we hearken to fulfil all that thou commandest us." 3. And he said unto them, "I do not command you *concerning my silver, nor concerning my gold, *nor all my substance*[3] that I leave unto you here under the sun, nor do I command you any difficult thing which you may not be able to accomplish, but I speak to you about an easy matter, which you can fulfil." 4. And his sons answered and replied a second time, and said, "Speak, O father, for we listen." 5. He said unto them, "I give you no command save in regard to the fear of the Lord: Him shall ye serve, and to Him shall ye cleave." 6. They said unto him, "What need hath He of our service?" He said unto them, "It is not that

T. Naph. i. 6.

T. Jos. xi. 6.

[1] Only in P. [2] A gloss from Gen. xxx. 8.
[3] J; also in A in a corrupt form.

He hath need of any creature, but that all creatures of the world have need of Him. But He hath not created the world for nought, but that His creatures should fear Him, and that none should do to his neighbour what he doth not like for himself." 7. They said unto him, "Our father! hast thou, forsooth, seen us departing from thy ways, or from the ways of our fathers, either to the right or to the left?" 8. He said unto them, "The Lord and I are witnesses that it is even as ye say; but I dread that which is to come, lest ye go astray after the gods of strange nations, and walk according to the ordinances of the peoples of the lands, and lest *ye join* the children of Joseph, instead of *the children of Levi and the children of Judah.*" 9. They said to him, "What dost thou see that thou commandest us in this wise?" 10. He said unto them, "Because I know that one day the children of Joseph will depart from the Lord, the God of their fathers, and cause the children of Israel to sin, and to be banished from the good land into another that is not ours, as we have been exiled through his being a bond-servant in Egypt.

T. Lev. xix. 3.

T. Naph. vii. 2.

T. Naph. v. 1-3.

II. "Further, I will tell you *the vision* I saw, when I was pasturing the flock. 2. I saw, and lo, my twelve brothers were pasturing with me in the field; and lo, *our father* came and *said to us*, 'My children, *run and seize ye, each* *before me,*[1] what comes to his portion.' 3. We answered and said unto him, 'What shall we seize? lo, we see nothing but the sun, moon, and the stars.' 4. *He said unto them, '(Take hold) of them.'[2] When Levi heard it, he seized a staff in his hand, and jumped upon *the sun* and sat and rode thereon. 5. And when Judah saw it, he did likewise; and he *seized* a staff, and sprang upon *the moon* and rode thereon. 6. So also *all the[3] tribes; each rode upon his star and his planet in the heavens; and Joseph only remained alone upon the earth. 7. Jacob our father said unto him, 'My son, why hast thou not done as thy brothers?' He said unto him, 'My father, what have they[4] that are born of woman to do in the heavens, as in the end they must needs stand upon the earth?'

[1] For לפניי read, with T. Naph. v. 2, *κατὰ δύναμιν*, לפי כח. The כח could fall out before the following כל אחד.

[2] PJ. A om.

[3] A. PJ read "the nine."

[4] PJ. A reads "he."

III. "Whilst Joseph was speaking, *lo*, there stood near v. 6.
him a huge *bull with great wings like the wings of a stork, and his horns were huge* like the horns of the Reëm. 2. And Jacob said to him, 'Get up, my son Joseph, and ride upon him.' 3. And Joseph got up and mounted upon the bull. And Jacob our father departed from us. 4. For about four hours Joseph gloried in the bull—at times he walked and ran, at times *he flew* v. 7.
up with him, till he came near to Judah, and Joseph stretched out the standard he had in his hands and began to smite Judah his brother. 5. Judah said to him, 'My brother, why dost thou smite me?' 6. He said unto him, 'Because thou holdest in thy hands twelve staves, and I have only one; *give me ten,[1] and there will be peace.' 7. But Judah refused to give them to him, and Joseph beat him till he had taken from him ten against his will, and only two were left with Judah. 8. Joseph then said to his ten brothers, 'Wherefore run ye after Judah and Levi? Depart from them and follow after me.' 9. When his brothers heard Joseph's words, they departed from Levi and Judah as one man, to follow Joseph, and there remained with Judah only Benjamin and Levi. 10. When Levi beheld this, he descended from the sun full of trouble of spirit. 11. Joseph said to Benjamin his brother, 'Benjamin, my brother! Art thou not my brother? Come thou also with me.' But Benjamin refused to go with Joseph his brother. 12. And it came to pass when the day drew to an end, lo, there arose a mighty storm, which separated Joseph from his brothers, so that no two were left together. 13. When I beheld this vision, I related it to Jacob my father, and he said unto me, 'My son, it is only a dream, which will neither ascend nor descend, for it hath not been repeated.'

IV. "*But no long time elapsed, when I saw another vision.* 2. vi. 1-3.
*Whilst we stood* all *together with Jacob our father on* the shore of *the Great Sea, behold a ship came sailing* in the middle of the sea *without a sailor and a man* (pilot). 3. Our father said to us, 'Do ye see what I am seeing?' We said unto him, 'We see it.' 4. He said unto us, 'Do what ye see me doing.' Thereupon Jacob our father took off his clothes, and threw himself into the sea, and we all followed him. 5. And the first were Levi and

[1] PJ. A reads "Come now, give them to me."

Judah, and they jumped in(to the ship), and Jacob with them. 6. And behold in that ship there was all the goodness of the world. 7. Jacob our father said unto them, 'Look at what is written on the mast; for there is no ship on which the name of the master is not written on the mast.' 8. Then Levi and Judah looked, and saw, and behold there was written, 'This ship belongs to the son of Berachel, and all the good therein.' 9. When Jacob our father heard that, he rejoiced very much, and bowed down and thanked God. He said, 'Not enough that He has blessed me on earth, He has blessed me on the sea too!' 10. Then he said unto us, 'My children, quit yourselves like men, and whatever each one of you seizes, that shall be his share.' 11. Thereupon Levi sprang to the big mast therein and sat upon it. 12. The second after him, Judah also leapt to the second mast, which was next to Levi's mast, and he also sat thereon. 13. And the rest of my other brothers took each his
vi. 4. oar, and Jacob *our father grasped the two rudders* to steer the ship by them. 14. And Joseph was left alone. Our father said unto him, 'My son Joseph, take thou also thine oar.' But Joseph refused. 15. When my father saw that Joseph refused to take his oar, he said unto him, 'Come here, my son, and take one of the rudders which I hold in my hands, and steer the ship, whilst thy brothers row with the oars until you reach land.' 16. And he taught each one of us, and said unto us, 'Thus ye shall steer the ship, and ye will not be afraid of the waves of the sea, nor of stormy winds when they shall arise against you.'

V. "And when he had made an end of commanding us, *he disappeared* from us. 2. And Joseph took both the rudders, one with the right hand and one with the left, and the rest of my brothers were rowing, and the ship sailed on and floated over the waters. 3. And Levi and Judah sat upon the two masts to look out which way the ship was to take. 4. As long as Joseph and Judah were of one mind, and Judah showed to Joseph which was the right way, Joseph directed thither the ship, and[1] the ship sailed on peaceably without hindrance. 5. And after a while a quarrel arose between Joseph and Judah, and Joseph no longer steered the ship according to the words of his father and the teaching of Judah; and the ship went a wrong

[1] So $A^2$, but APJ om.

course, and *the waves of the sea dashed it* on a rock, *so that the ship* vi. 5
*was broken up.*

VI. "Then Levi and Judah descended from the masts to escape for their lives, and as for the rest of the brothers, we escaped for our lives to the shore. 2. And behold there came Jacob our father, and found us dispersed, one here and another there. 3. He said unto us, 'What is the matter with you, my sons? Perhaps you have not steered the ship as it ought, (even) as I commanded you?' 4. And we said unto him, 'By the life of thy servants, we have not departed from anything that thou hast commanded us; but Joseph transgressed against the command; for he did not steer the ship according to thy command, and as he was instructed by Judah and Levi, for he was jealous of them.' 5. And he said unto us, 'Show me the place (of the ship).' And he saw, and behold the tops of the masts were visible, and behold it was floating on the surface of the water. 6. And my father whistled, and we all gathered round him. 7. And he cast himself into the sea as before, and he repaired the ship. 8. And he reproved Joseph and said unto him, 'My son, thou shalt not again deceive (nor) be jealous of thy brothers, for they were nearly lost through thee.'

VII. "And when I recounted this vision to my father, he smote his hands together and sighed, and his eyes shed tears. 2. And I waited till I was ashamed, but he spake no word to me. 3. So I took the hand of my father to embrace it and to kiss it, and I said to him, 'Oh servant of the Lord! why do thine eyes shed tears?' 4. He said unto me, 'My son, because of the repetition of thy vision my heart has sunk within me, and my body is confounded by reason of Joseph my son, for I loved him above you all; and for the wickedness of my son Joseph you will be sent into captivity, and you will be scattered among the nations. 5. For thy first and second visions are both one and the same vision. 6. Therefore I *command you* not to *unite* viii. 2.
with the sons of Joseph, but only *with Levi and Judah.*

VIII. "Further, I tell you my lot shall be in the best of the (Deut. xxxii. 15.)
middle of the earth, and ye shall eat and be satisfied with its
delights. 2. I warn you not to kick in your fatness, and not to rebel, and not to oppose the command of the Lord, who satisfies you with the good things of His earth. 3. And do not forget

the Lord your God, the God of your fathers; Who was chosen by our father Abraham when the nations were divided in the time of Phaleg. 4. For at that time the Lord, blessed be He, came down from His highest heavens, and brought down with Him seventy ministering angels, Michael at their head. 5. He commanded them to teach the seventy families which sprang from the loins of Noah seventy languages. 6. Forthwith the angels descended and did according to the command of their Creator. But the holy language, the Hebrew language, remained only in the house of Shem and Eber, and in the house of Abraham our father, who is one of their descendants.

IX. "And on that day Michael took a message from the Lord and said to the seventy nations, to each nation separately: 2. 'You know the rebellion you undertook, and the treacherous confederacy into which you entered against the Lord of heaven and earth, and now choose to-day whom you will worship and who shall be your intercessor in the height of heaven.' 3. Nimrod the wicked answered and said, 'For me there is none greater than he who taught me and my nation in one hour the language of Kush.' 4. In like manner answered also Put, and Mizraim, and Tubal, and Javan, and Mesech, and Tiras; and every nation chose its own angel, and none of them mentioned the name of the Lord, blessed be He. 5. But when Michael said unto Abraham our father, 'Abram, whom dost thou choose, and whom wilt thou worship?' Abram answered, 'I choose and select only Him who said, and the world was created; Who formed me in the womb of my mother, body within body; Who placed in me spirit and soul; Him I choose, and to Him will I cleave, I and my seed, all the days of the world.'

X. "Then the Most High dispersed the nations, and apportioned and allotted to every nation its share and lot. 2. And from that time all the nations of the earth separated themselves from the Lord, blessed be He; only the house of Abraham remained with his Creator to worship Him; and after Him Isaac and Jacob. 3. Therefore, my sons, I conjure you not to go astray and worship any other god than Him whom your fathers have chosen. 4. For know assuredly that there is none like unto Him, and no other who can do as He or like His works in heaven and on earth, and there is none who can do

wonders like unto His mighty deeds. 5. A portion only of His power you can see in the creation of man; how many notable wonders are there not in him? 6. He created him from head to foot; with his ears he hears, and with his eyes he sees, and with his brain he understands, and with his nose he smells, and *with* T. Naph. ii. 8. *his windpipe* he brings forth his voice, and with his gullet he absorbs food and drink, and with his tongue he speaks, and with his mouth he completes(?); with his hands he does his work, and *with his heart he reckons, and with his spleen he laughs, and with his liver he is angry*; and his maw grinds, and with his feet he walks, and *his lungs are for breathing, and by his reins is he counselled.* 7. And none of his members changes its function, but every one keeps to its own. 8. It is therefore proper for man to lay to heart all these things, Who hath created him, and Who it is that hath wrought him out of an ill-smelling drop[1] in the womb of the woman, and Who it is that bringeth him out into the light of the world, and Who hath given him the sight of eyes and the walking of the feet, and Who causeth him to stand upright, and bringeth him nigh to his Creator and to his place, and hath prepared good deeds for him in the place of insight, and hath poured into him a living soul and a pure spirit from Himself. 9. Blessed is the man who does not defile the holy spirit of God which hath been put and breathed into him, and blessed is he who returns it to its Creator as pure as it was on the day when He entrusted it (to him)."

10. Thus far are the words of Naphtali, the son of Israel, with which he admonished his sons, *with words sweeter than honey.[2]

[1] The phrase is found also in the Pirke Aboth, iii. 1.

[2] Emended. See my Text.

# APPENDIX II

## TRANSLATION OF ARAMAIC AND GREEK FRAGMENTS OF AN ORIGINAL SOURCE OF THE TESTAMENT OF LEVI AND THE BOOK OF JUBILEES.

### Cambridge Aramaic Fragment.

Col. *a*.

1. . . . from . . . daughter . . . that all . . . to do according to right in . . . Jacob my father, and saw . . . and we said to them . . . they desire our daughter, and we will be all br(ethren) and companions. 2. Circumcise the foreskin of your flesh and appear (like us), and be sealed like us in the circumcision of . . . and we will be to y(ou) b(rethren).

Col. *b*.

3. . . . my brother at every time, . . . that were in Shechem . . . my brother and Dan showed . . . in Shechem and what . . . (doers) of violence, and Judah showed them . . . that I and Simeon my brother went to him . . . to Reuben our brother, who . . . Judah (?) before (that he le)ft the sheep . . .

### Bodleian Aramaic Fragment.

Col. *a*.

4. . . . peace, and all the desirableness of the first-fruits of the earth, all of it for food and for dominion; the sword, fighting and battle and slaughter and trouble and rage and murder and famine. 5. Sometimes thou shalt eat, and sometimes thou shalt be hungry; sometimes thou shalt labour, and

sometimes thou shalt rest; sometimes thou shalt sleep, and sometimes the sleep of the eye shall depart. 6. Now behold how he has made thee greater than all, and how I give thee the greatness of everlasting peace. 7. And two weeks passed from me, and *I awoke from my sleep.* Then I said: *The one vision is* T. Lev. viii. 18.
*even as the other.* I wondered that all the vision should be (given) to him. *And I hid this also in my heart and revealed it to* viii. 19.
*no man.* 8. And I went to my father Isaac, and he also in like manner (blessed) me. 9. Then when Jacob saw (in regard to the tw)elve all that should happen to him according to his vow (and how that) I was first at the head of (the priesthood), and to me of all his sons he had granted the offering, (he gave thanks) to God, and clothed me with the garment of the priesthood, and *(fil)led my hands,*[1] and I became a priest to God . . . , and I viii. 10.
offered all his offerings, and blessed my father in my life, and blessed my brethren. 10. Then they all blessed me, and father also blessed me, and I finished

Col. *b*.

offering his offerings in Bethel. 11. And we went from Bethel, and *lodged* in the castle of Abraham our father, *with Isaac our* ix. 1, 5.
*father.* 12. And Isaac our father saw us all, and he blessed us and rejoiced. 13. And when he knew that I was priest of the Most High God, the Lord of heaven, he began to charge me and *teach me the rights of the priesthood*, and said to me, 14. "Levi, ix. 7.
take heed to thyself, my son, my son, against all defilement and all sin. Thy rights are greater than those of all flesh. 15. And now, my son, I will show thee the rule of the truth, and will not hide from thee any matter to inform thee in the rights of the priesthood. 16. First, *take heed to thyself*, my son, *against* ix. 9.
all lust and uncleanness, and against all *fornication.* 17. *And do* ix. 10.
*thou take to thyself a wife* of my family, and defile not thy seed with harlots; for thou art a holy seed, and holy is thy seed like the holy place, for a holy priest art thou called among all the seed of Abraham. 18. *Thou art nigh to* (*God* and) nigh to ii. 10.
all His holy ones. Now be thou pure in thy flesh from every (Jub. xxi. 16.)
defilement of all men.

[1] So Jub. xxxii. 3, "His father clothed him in the garments of the priesthood, and filled his hands."

Col. *c.*

ix. 11. 19. *And when thou* risest up to *enter the* **house of God*,[1] *wash thyself* with water, and then clothe thyself with the garment of the priesthood. 20. And when thou art clothed, again wash thy hands and thy feet, before thou offer anything on the altar. 21. *And when thou* takest to *offer* all that is fitting to offer on the altar, again *wash* thy hands and thy feet. 22. And offer the split logs, and prove them first (free) from worms, and then offer them; for thus I saw Abraham my father taking heed. 23. Of

ix. 12. all the *twelve* kinds of wood, he told me that those of them are fitting to burn on the altar whose smoke goes up with a sweet savour. 24. And these are their names:—cedar, and bay, and

(Jub. xxi. 12.) almond, and fir, and pine,[2] and mountain ash, and cypress, and fig, and olive, and laurel, and myrtle, and aspalathus.[3] 25. These are they which he told me it was right to offer under the sacrifice on the altar. And when (thou hast placed) of the wood of these (trees) on the altar, and the fire begins to kindle

Col. *d.*

them, then begin to sprinkle the blood on the sides of the altar. 26. And again wash thy hands and thy feet from the blood, and begin to offer up the limbs, salted. 27. Offer the head first, and upon it spread the fat, and let there not be seen on it the blood of the offering of the bull. 28. And after it the neck, and after the neck its fore-legs, and after its fore-legs the breast with the side, and after the legs the thigh with the spine of the loin, and after the thigh the hind-legs washed together with the entrails. 29. And let all be salted with salt as is fitting for them according to their need. 30. And after this the meal mingled with oil, and, after it all, wine of the drink-offering; and burn on them frankincense; and let all thy works be in order, and all thy offerings be pleasing (?), for a sweet savour before the Most High God. 31. And whatsoever thou doest, do it in order by measure and weight; add nothing which is not fitting,

[1] Gk. Frag. and T. Lev. ix. 11 give "the sanctuary."

[2] Text reads "thorns" (שׁוּחָא), corrupt for שִׁישָׁא = "pine."

[3] The list in the Aramaic practically agrees with that in Jub. xxi. 12. The Gk. frag. diverges in omitting the almond and the olive, and adding the σχῖνος. See my Text of the Testaments, p. 249.

and fall not short of the account of what is fitting(?) concerning(?) the logs that are fitting to offer for all that goes up upon the altar. 32. For the great bullock a talent of wood by weight; and if the fat alone is offered, six minas; and if it is a bull-calf [1] which is offered . . .

Verses 32*b*-66 (found only in the Greek).

And for the second bull fifty minas; and for the fat alone five minas. 33. And for a great bullock (μόσχον) forty minas. 34. And if it be a ram or a he-goat that is offered, for such thirty minas, and for the fat two minas. 36. And if it be a lamb without blemish of the first year, or a kid of the goats, fifteen minas; and for the fat half a mina. 37. And sprinkle [2] salt upon the great bull to salt its flesh, and offer it on the altar. One measure is fitting for the bull. And where there is a superfluity of salt, salt therewith the hide. 38. And for the second bull five-sixths of the measure. And for the bullock (μόσχον) the half of the measure. 39. And for the ram half a measure, and for the he-goat the like measure. 40. And for the lamb and the kid the third of the measure. And the meal that is fitting for them. 41. For the great [3] bull and for the second bull and the bullock a measure of meal. 42. And for the ram and the he-goat two-thirds of a measure, and for the lamb and for the kid a third part of a measure, and the oil. 43. And the fourth of the measure for the bull mingled with this meal. 44. And for the ram the sixth of the measure, and for the lamb the eighth of the measure †and of the lamb.† And as for the wine, pour a libation according to the measure of the oil on the bull and the ram and the kid. 45. Of frankincense six shekels for the bull, and the half thereof for the ram, and the third thereof for the kid, and (let) all the meal (be) mingled. 46. If you offer this not upon(?) the fat, let there be offered upon it a weight of two shekels of frankincense. And the third of the measure is the third of the ephah. 47. And the two parts of the bath and of the weight of the mina are of fifty shekels. And of the shekel the fourth part is a weight.[4] The shekel comes to be about sixteen thermoi (θερμοί) and of one (and the same)

[1] The Greek has "the second bull" here and in verses 38, 41.
[2] Emended. See my Text. [3] See verse 32.
[4] Here follows the unintelligible phrase θερμὸν δ'.

weight. 48. And now, my son, hear my words and give ear to my commands, and let not these my words depart from your heart throughout all thy days, because thou art a holy priest of the Lord. 49. And all thy seed shall be priests. And to thy sons so give commandment that they do according to this use[1] as I have shown thee. 50. For so my father Abraham commanded me to do and to give commandment to my sons. 51. And now, my son, I rejoice that thou hast been chosen to the holy priesthood, and to offer sacrifice to the Lord Most High, as it is befitting to do according to that which is ordained for Him. 52. When thou takest a sacrifice to offer before the Lord of any flesh, according to the reckoning of the wood so receive (it) as I command thee, and the salt and the meal and the wine and the frankincense receive at their hands for all the animals. 53. And always wash[2] thy hands and thy feet when thou goest to the altar, and when thou goest forth from the sanctuary let no blood touch thy garments. Thou shalt not †kindle it the same day.† 54. And thy hands and thy feet wash continually from all flesh. 55. And let no blood be seen upon thee, †and every soul,† for the blood is the life (soul) in the flesh. 56. And if thou *preparest for thyself[3] any flesh at home to eat, cover its blood first in the earth before thou eatest of the flesh, and thou shalt not eat of the blood. 57. For so my father Abraham commanded me; for so he found it in the writing of the Book of Noah concerning the blood. 58. And now, as I tell thee, my beloved son, thou art beloved of thy father and holy unto the Lord Most High, and thou shalt be loved beyond all thy brethren. 59. †By thy seed shall be blessed in the earth,† and thy seed shall be enrolled in the book of the memorial of life unto all ages. 60. And thy name and the name of thy seed shall not be blotted out unto all the ages. 61. And now, my son Levi, thy seed shall be blessed upon the earth unto all the generations of the ages."

(Jub. xxi. 16-18 = verses 53-56.)

(Jub. xxi. 1.)

62. And when four weeks were fulfilled in the years of my life, *i.e. in my twenty-eighth year, I took unto myself a wife* of the lineage of Abraham my father, even *Milcah*, the daughter of Bethuel, the son of Laban, my mother's brother. 63. And *she*

T. Lev. xi. 1.

[1] Κρίσιν = משפט.

[2] Verses 53-56 agree almost verbally with Jubilees xxi. 16-18.

[3] MS reads οὐσης σεαυτόν, which may possibly be emended into ποιῇς σεαυτῷ.

*conceived and bare me a* first *son, and I called his name Gershom* ; xi. 2.
for I said that my seed would be sojourners in the land where I
was born. *We are sojourners* as . . . *in the land* . . . 64. And xi. 3.
*in the case of the lad I saw* in my vision that he would be cast out,
he and his seed from the chief priesthood . . . 65. Thirty
years old was I in my life when he was born, and in the tenth
month he was born towards sunset. 66. And again she con-
ceived and bare me about the time that is fitting with women,
*and I called his name Kohath.*[1] xi. 6.

CAMBRIDGE ARAMAIC FRAGMENT.

Col. *c.*

66. (And it happen)ed about the ti(me of women that I was with
her, and she concei)ved again (and bare me another son, and) I
(call)ed his name (Kohath. 67. And I saw) that to him (would
b)e *the gathering of all* (the people, for) his would be the high- xi. 5.
(priest)hood (over all Is)rael. 68. *In the fo(ur and thir)tieth year* xi. 4.
*of my life was he born*, in the fir(st) month, (on the fir)st day of the
mo(nth), at sunrise. 69. And again I was wi(th her), *and she*
*bare me a third son, and I called his name Merari, for it was bitter to* xi. 7.
*me concerning him* exceedingly, for as soon as he was born he
died ; and it was very bitter to me concerning him, *because he was*
*like to die*, and I besought and prayed for him, and it was in all
bitterness. 70. *In the fortieth year of my life she bare*, in the third
month. 71. And again I was with her, and she conceived and
bare me a daughter, and I made her name *Jochebed*, (for) (I) sai(d), xi. 8.
as she hath born to me honour, she hath born for me *glory* to
Israel. 72. *In the sixty-fourth year of my life she bare*, in the first
day of the seventh month after that

Col. *d.*

we entered Egypt. 73. In the sixte(enth) year we entered the
land of Egypt, and to my sons (were given) the daughters of
my brothers at the time . . . to them sons. 74. The names of
the sons of *Gershon*, (*Libnai and*) *Shimei* ; and the names of *the sons* xii. 1, 2.
*of Ko(hath, Amra)m and Izhar and Hebron and Uzziel* ; (and the xii. 3.

[1] This verse is indeed found in the Aramaic, but I have given the translation of the Greek, as the Aramaic is for the most part wanting.

name of) *the sons of Merari, Mahli and Mushai.* 75. (*And*) *Amram*
xii. 4. (*took*) *to him as wife Jochebed my daughter*, while I was yet living, in the 9(4)th year of my life. 76. And I called the name of Amram, when he was born, Amram, for I said when he was born, this (child) (shall br)ing out the people from the l(and of Eg)ypt.
xii. 4. Therefore his name was called the exalted people. 77. *On one*
xii. 5. *day* (*were they born he*) *and* Jochebed *my daughter.* 78. *Eight*een *years old was I when I went in*(*to the l*)*and of Canaan, and* (*nine*)*teen years old when I slew She*(*chem*) and destroyed the workers of violence. 79. *And I was nineteen years old when I became priest, and twenty-eight years old when I took to me a wife.* 80. *And eight and forty years old was I when we went into the land of Egypt*, and eighty and nine years I lived in Egypt.

Col. *e*.

xix. 4. 81. And all the days of my life were *1*(*3*)*7 years*, and I saw my
xii. 6. *sons of the th*(*ird generation*) before I died. 82. And *in* (*hundred-*
xii. 7. *and-eigh*)*teenth* (*year*) *of my life*, that is the y(ear) in which *Joseph my brother died*, I called (my) so(ns and) their sons, and began to charge them all that was in my heart.

83. I answered and said to (my) sons:
(Hear) the word of Levi your father,
And hearken to the commands of God's beloved;
xiii. 1. 84. *I give you a charge, my sons,*
And I show you the truth, my beloved.
(Ps. cxix. 160.) 85. Let the sum of your works be truth,
And (let) righteousness abide with you for ever.
86. And the tr(uth) . . .
And to them the harvest is blessed.
xiii. 6. 87. *He that soweth good*, reapeth good;
*And he that soweth evil*, his seed returneth upon him.
xiii. 2. 88. And now, my sons, a book of instruction in wisdom *teach your sons,*
And let wisdom be with you an everlasting honour.
xiii. 3. 89. *He that learneth* wisdom, *she is an honour to him,*
And whoso despiseth wisdom is given over to contempt.
xiii. 9. 90. My sons, behold *Joseph my brother,*
xiii. 2. *Who gave instruction in the writings* and discipline of wisdom.

Col. *f*.

91. . . . man . . . and increased (?) . . . to every co(untry)
and city . . . to him brother . . . was in it, *he is* (*not like*) xiii. 3.
*a stranger in it*, *and not li(ke to) a stranger (in it),[1] and not
like an alien in it; for they all give him honour in it, for
all *desire* to learn of his wisdom. xiii. 4.
92. *His friends are many*,
And they that salute him are great ones.
93. And on a seat of honour they place him,
*To hear* the words of his wisdom.
94. Great wealth of honour is wisdom,
And a goodly treasure to all that *get* her. xiii. 7.
95. If there come mighty kings and much people,
And an host and many horsemen and chariots with them,
*And take . . . country and city*,
And spoil all that is in them,
*The treasures of wisdom they shall not spoil*,
Nor find out her hidden things,
Nor . . .

[1] The form in the Aramaic varies. We have here duplicate renderings of the same Hebrew original.

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An Original Source of the Testaments preserved in Aramaic and Greek.—See Appendix II. in the present work, and Appendix III. in my Text of the Testaments, where a complete list of the borrowings of the Testaments is given.

Midrash Wajjissau.—See Appendix I. in my Text. The Midrash and the Testaments may have been drawn from the same source.

Wherever there has been a relation of dependence in the preceding list of passages, the dependence has been on the side of the Testaments. Where such a relation exists in the list that follows, the Testaments are to be regarded as the original, except in the case of Jubilees—a contemporary work—and of the 2 Enoch, on which see note.

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|---|---|
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[1] The references in the Testaments to Enoch belong to the 1st century B.C. sections. These sections imply the existence of an Enoch document, on which the present Slavonic or 2 Enoch is based.

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[1] προήρηται τῇ καρδίᾳ.

# INDEX II

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* It would perhaps, after all, be best to render *σωφροσύνη* as "self-control" or "sobriety," since in Jos. 9[2] it is contrasted with *ἀκολασία*. Thus the use would be the normal one. Cf. Aristot. *Rhet.* i. 9. 9: *σωφροσύνη δὲ ἀρετὴ δι' ἣν πρὸς τὰς ἡδονὰς τοῦ σώματος οὕτως ἔχουσιν ὡς ὁ νόμος κελεύει, ἀκολασία δὲ τοὐναντίον.*

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## CORRIGENDA

Page 3, col. 1 notes, l. 22, *for* "$15^{b}$," *read* "xv. 6."
Page 15, col. 2 notes, l. 20, *for* "Gal." *read* "Eph."
Page 16, ll. 2, 3, *for* "will" *read* "shall."
Pages 141, 142. Chap. IV. should be bracketed as an addition of the 1st cent. B.C.

THE END

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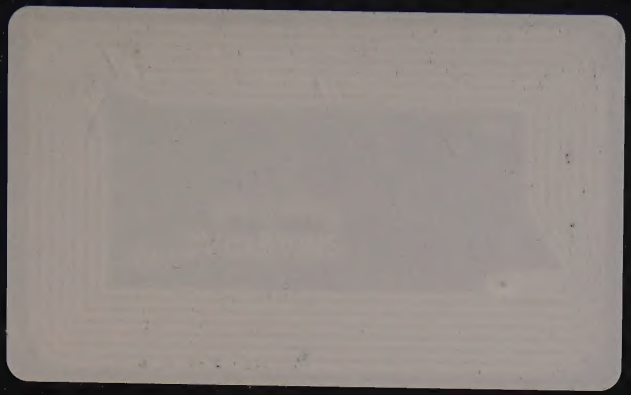

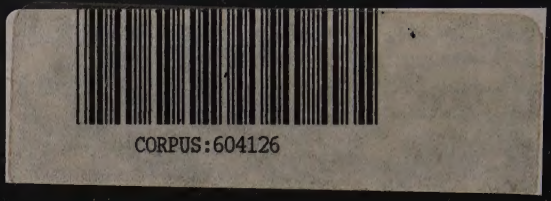
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